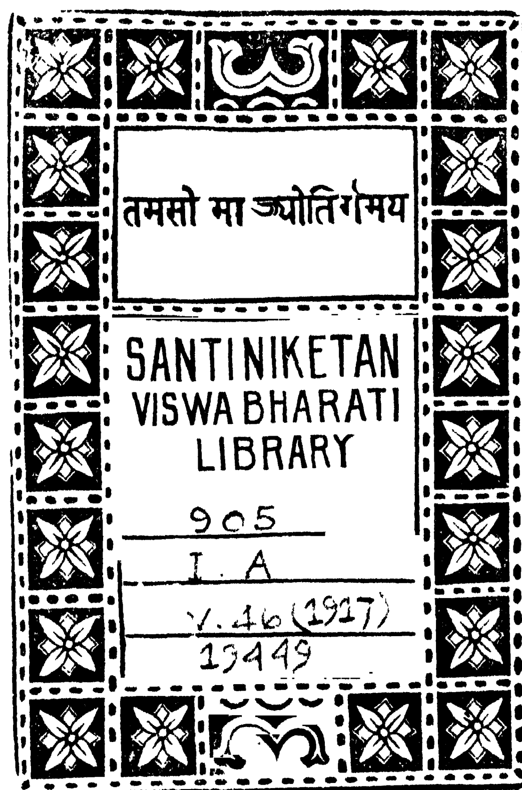


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THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY,

A JOURNAL OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH.

VOLUME XLVI—1917.

JAMES BURGESS, C.I.E., LL.D.

BY J. F. FLEET, I.C.S., (RETD.), PH.D., C.I.E.

IN the person of **Dr. James Burgess,** who died at Edinburgh on the 3rd October in his eighty-fifth year, there has passed away an accomplished scholar and zealous worker who played a great part in the development of Indian historical and archæological research, and Sir Richard Temple and I have lost a valued friend of long standing. The following sketch is offered as a tribute to his memory and an attempt to give an idea of what he achieved during some fifty years of active life and solid hard work

Dr. Burgess was born on the 14th August, 1832, at Kirkmahoe in Dumfriesshire, Scotland. He was educated chiefly at Glasgow, with a view to adopting the profession of teaching. And he **went to India in 1855** as Professor of Mathematics in the Doveton College at Calcutta. In 1861 he became Head of a large school at Bombay, the Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy Parsee Benevolent Institution, and it was this move that led to his taking up the line of work in which he became so prominent. His interest in archæological matters was aroused by the remains at Elephanta and the Kanheri Caves, and the other places which residence at Bombay gave him the opportunity of visiting during vacations. And the first fruits of the work which he was thus led to begin appeared in his "Temples of Satrunjaya," published in 1869, and his "Rock-cut Temples of Elephanta," which followed in 1871.[1]

Soon after that came his first great service to the scientific world, which was done in 1872 by starting this journal, the **Indian Antiquary.** His objects were to bring together in one publication, of a suitable size for illustrations, the work in all the various lines of Indian historical and archæological research which was being done by scholars both in India and elsewhere; to draw more workers into the field; to provide a medium of communication between writers who lived and worked in far different localities; and to make accessible in English translations and abstracts work that was being turned out by some of our European scholars in other languages. A glance through the Lists of Contents of the early volumes will show how many prominent scholars, both European and Indian, responded at once to his call, and availed themselves of the advantages that he offered by joining the ranks of his supporters and contributors, and how quickly new workers were attracted and brought into this field of research, and the pages of the volumes themselves are full of most valuable matter which he was thus the means of laying before us, including many contributions by himself both in separate papers and in editorial footnotes. He carried on this publication, in monthly issues and yearly volumes, chiefly at his own cost, for thirteen years, and wound up the series by a penultimate contribution of quite exceptional interest and value, namely,

[1] Here and below I mention only his most prominent works, nearly all of which have been taken into the general series of the Archæological Survey of India, though a few of them, besides these two, were not written officially. Various other publications by him or prepared under his direction are to be found in the brochures or subsidiary smaller volumes of the Bombay and Madras Surveys, and in separately issued descriptive books and collections of photographs. A nearly full list of them all can be got from the bibliography attached to his article on Indian architecture in the Imperial Gazetteer of India, along with the lists which are given at the end of the annual report of the Director-General of Archæology.

McCrindle's translation of Ptolemy's Geography of India and Southern Asia. Then, but only because by that time he found his hands quite full with the official duties which had devolved upon him, he made over the journal, at the end of 1884, to Sir Richard Temple and myself.

Meanwhile, from 1868 to 1873 Dr. Burgess was the Secretary of the Bombay Geographical Society. His work in this capacity and what he was doing as Editor of the *Indian Antiquary*, along with the two small books which he had published on Elephanta and Satruñjaya, attracted the attention of Government, and led to **official recognition** of his special qualifications. It had already been realized by the Government of India that the extensive historical and archæological remains of India deserved a better fate than that the exploration of them should continue to be left to private and intermittent enterprise. A first step was taken in 1870, when General Sir Alexander Cunningham, who, indeed, had been employed previously for some years on official archæological exploration but had retired from active service, was recalled to India to be at first Archæological Surveyor to the Government of India, and then when a staff of Assistants was provided for him, to be Director-General of the Archaeological Survey of India. His time, however, and that of his Assistants was fully filled by work in Northern India. It was recognized that separate arrangements must be made for the South. And a second step was taken in January, 1874, when Dr. Burgess was appointed to be the **Archæological Surveyor and Reporter to Government for Western India.** He was peculiarly fitted for such a post by having already a clear appreciation of the different classes of Indian architecture, a quick perception of the salient features which called for description and illustration, habits of close observation and accuracy partly innate and partly due to his mathematical training, great skill as a draftsman and photographer, and a winning manner which got for him the cordial co-operation of other scholars in supplying readings and translations of inscriptions, the only part of the work which he could not deal with in person. And the selection of him for the newly made office was quickly justified by his production of a series of fine large volumes, handsomely got up and richly illustrated, and full of most useful matter. In 1874 appeared his "Report on the First Season's Operations in the Belgaum and Kaladgi Districts;" in 1876, his "Report on the Antiquities of Kathiawad and Kachh," including a contribution by E. Thomas on the "Sâh" and Gupta coins; and in 1878, his "Report on the Antiquities in the Bidar and Aurangabad Districts in the Territories of H. H. the Nizam." During this period he started, by a "Provisional List of Architectural and other Archæological Remains in Western India," which was issued in 1875 as No. 4 of the brochures of the Bombay Archæological Survey, a series of compilations, framed subsequently both for Bombay and for other parts in an amplified and more detailed form, the usefulness of which has been found very great. Also, he perfected and taught to us who were co-operating with him the process of making the squeezes and impressions, both plain and inked, which enabled us to substitute real facsimiles of the inscriptions on stone for the small-scale photographs and the unreliable reproductions from eye-copies, tracings, and rubbings touched up by hand, which had been previously the only ways of illustrating such records.

In 1881 Madras was added to Dr. Burgess's sphere of work, and he became **Archæological Surveyor and Reporter to Government for Western and Southern India.** He then brought out in 1883 his fourth volume for Western India, namely, a "Report on the Buddhist Cave-temples and their Inscriptions," the inscriptions being given mostly from a preliminary treatment of them by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji, published in 1881 in No. 10 of the brochures of the Bombay Survey, which was revised and added to by Professor Bühler. In the same year he produced his fifth volume for Western India, a "Report on the Elura Cave-Temples and the Brahmanical and Jaina Caves in Western India," with a treatment by Professor Bühler of the Nânâghâṭ and Kaṇheri inscriptions and the Daśâvatara inscription at Elurâ. In the meantime, in intervals of leisure Dr. Burgess had found time to co-operate with

James Fergusson in writing another volume of very primary importance, "The Cave-temples of India," which was published in both their names in 1880.

In March, 1886, Dr. Burgess succeeded Sir A. Cunningham as **Director-General of the Archæological Survey of India.** One of the first things that he did in his new office was to place the **archæological arrangements throughout India on a more systematic footing** by putting Mr. Cousens and Mr. Rea, who were already his Assistants, in full charge of the work in Western India and Madras respectively; by getting Dr. Führer appointed for the North-West provinces and Oudh as an addition to the existing staff in Northern India, and by securing the appointment of Professor Hultzsch as Government Epigraphist, with the duty of collecting and publishing the inscriptional records of the Madras-Presidency and training a staff of assistants to help in carrying on that work and any extension of it. Another thing that he did in his new capacity was to start **a second new journal**, which, also, has played a most important part in Indian historical research. From 1872 the principal organ for the publication of the ancient records of India, the inscriptions on stone and copper which are found in such great numbers, especially in the South, had been the *Indian Antiquary*. But the pages of this journal were becoming insufficient for the increasing amount of material that was being collected. A separate journal, devoted exclusively to the inscriptions, was found necessary, and Dr. Burgess provided it by starting the **Epigraphia Indica**, which he brought out with the help of Professor Hultzsch and Dr. Führer, to provide for the inscriptions other than those which were specially the sphere of Professor Hultzsch's work. Owing to certain difficulties caused by special arrangements which had to be made in the Government Press at Calcutta, the first volume of this new series, issued in periodical instalment, was not finished till 1892, by which time Dr. Burgess had left India. But it was followed by vol 2 without any undue delay in 1894. Here, again, a perusal of the Lists of Contents of the two volumes will show how successful he was in securing at once full support for his new undertaking. The pages of the two volumes are rich with epigraphic work by, amongst others, Professors Bühler and Kielhorn. And a noticeable feature in them is found in Professor Jacobi's "Tables for the Computation of Hindu Dates in Inscriptions," which Dr. Burgess, estimating quite rightly the usefulness of them, published in vol. 1, pp. 403-460, and vol. 2, pp 487-498. This was a somewhat new line of inquiry, and a very important one. It had been started, on proper lines for the first time, by Mr. Shankar Balkrishna Dikshit, in 1887, in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. 16, pp. 113-122, where he showed us how to get the true European equivalents for Hindu dates by means of tables published in Marâthî by Professor Kero Lakshman Chhatre. Professor Jacobi took the matter in hand on European lines in the same journal vol. 17, pp 145-181 and then recast and extended his tables and methods in the two contributions for which Dr. Burgess so judiciously found a place in the *Epigraphia Indica*, thus laying fully the foundations of a branch in our work the superstructure of which has been continued elsewhere by Sh. B. Dikshit, Mr. Sewell, and other scholars. Meanwhile, Dr. Burgess went on energetically with his own special work, and gave us in 1887 the first volume in the archæological series for Madras, namely, "The Buddhist Stupas of Amaravati and Jaggayyapeta in the Krishna District," with texts and translations of by Professor Bühler of the inscriptions of Aśôka at Dhauli and Jaugada, and in 1888, in co-operation with Mr. Cousens, a volume on "The Antiquities of the Town of Dabhoi in Gujarat."

Dr. Burgess **left India in 1889**, to settle down in his home at Edinburgh, but not by any means to lead a life of leisure: he had many unpublished materials on hand; and he applied himself steadily to working them up for publication. He was busy in the first place, down to 1894, with the editing of the *Epigraphia Indica*, which then, from the beginning of its third volume, was taken over by Professor Hultzsch. In 1896 he gave us a volume on "The Muhammadan Architecture in Gujarat." In 1900 he published Part 1 of

a work on "The Muhammadan Architecture of Ahmedabad." In 1901 he gave us, in his private capacity, a small but valuable book entitled "Buddhist Art in India," being a translation, made by Miss A. C. Gibson and revised and enlarged by himself and enriched with additional illustration, of Professor Albert Grünwedel's "Handbuch" on this topic, which had been published in 1893. In 1903, again in co-operation with Mr. Cousens, he gave us a volume on "The Architectural Antiquities of Northern Gujarat." And in 1905 he produced Part 2 of "The Muhammadan Architecture of Ahmedabad." This was his last official publication. But even then his activity by no means came to an end. He wrote the account of Indian architecture which was published in 1908 in the new edition of the Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. 2, pp. 155-205. In 1910, in co-operation with Mr. Phenâ Spiers, he gave us a revised edition of Fergusson's "History of Indian and Eastern Architecture," originally published in 1876, which he brought up to date in the light of all the more recent knowledge that had been acquired since then and of his own special acquaintance with the subject. And in 1913 he gave us "The Chronology of Modern India, A. D. 1494—1894," as a complement to the well-known book on the earlier chronology, from ancient times down to the beginning of the sixteenth century, which had been published in 1899 by Miss C. Mabel Duff (Mrs. Rickmers).

As may have been gathered from some things said above, Dr. Burgess was an **expert mathematician** This branch of knowledge he never deserted, finding in it the relaxation from ordinary work which all of us need in some form or another. In 1898 he was awarded the Keith Medal of the Royal Society of Edinburgh for a paper in which he propounded a new process in the Error-function Definite Integral. And it was this side of his attainments that enabled him to give us in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1893, pp. 717-761, a most instructive paper entitled "Notes on **Hindu Astronomy** and the History of our Knowledge of it." It is to be regretted that he did not write more in this line of research, which has been much neglected since the time when Whitney published his notes and illustrations to the translation of the Sûrya-Siddhânta.

When Dr. Burgess gave us his "Chronology of Modern India," **his health had broken down** to such an extent that he was no longer capable of any continuous efforts ; it began to fail, in fact, about ten years ago ; and it was only under stress of great pain and increasing feebleness that he finished his last two publications. He was afflicted by serious weakness of the heart, and by a complaint which made severe surgical operations necessary from time to time. Life was a heavy burden to him for the last few years during which he was never free from discomfort, if not actual pain, and was, indeed, for much of the time in bed. But he always had the consolation that his mind remained clear, which enabled him up to the very last to take a practical interest in any topics that were submitted to him for elucidation, and the devoted attentions of a wife and daughters who helped him in keeping up his communications with friends at a distance whenever he could not write letters in person. He bore his sufferings with signal patience and resignation, under the influence of his natural fortitude and the deep religious convictions that he held, and has passed at last to rest, to be missed greatly by all who had the privilege of knowing him.

Dr. Burgess's merits and work received **recognition in various quarters.** He was made LL D of the University of Edinburgh in 1881, and Companion of the Order of the Indian Empire in 1885. He was an Honorary Associate of the Royal Institute of British Architects ; an Honorary Member of the Imperial Russian Archæological Society, the American Oriental Society, and the Royal Philosophical Society of Glasgow ; and a Fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh and of the University of Bombay. And he was an Honorary Associate of the Finno-Ugrian Society, and a Corresponding Member of the Ethnological Society of Berlin and of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences. He was also a Member of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, which he joined in 1886, and of which he was at the time of his death almost the oldest surviving member ; a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society, and a Member of the Sociêtê Asiatique, Paris.

ORIGINAL PAPERS RELATING TO THE CYCLONE AT PONDICHERRY ON NEW YEAR'S DAY 1761.

BY SIR RICHARD TEMPLE, BART.

Introductory Note.

THE violent cyclone which occurred at Pondicherry on the 1st January 1761 is historically important, as it happened at a crisis in the blockade of that place and inspired the French with hopes of immediate succour.

The Seven Years War was at that time drawing to a close, but the Anglo-French quarrel in India was still undetermined, and Colonel (Sir) Eyre Coote, in command of the troops at Madras, after a successful action at Wandiwash and the capture of Arcot, in January 1760, had set about the reduction of Pondicherry, which was held by the Count De Lally. But as the British forces were not strong enough for an assault, he decided to closely invest the place, and at the same time a strict blockade by land and sea was kept up from May to the end of December 1760, with the help of a squadron under Admiral Charles Stevens and Rear Admiral (Sir) Samuel Cornish. Its fall seemed inevitable, unless it could be relieved by a French fleet, as it was known that the inhabitants were suffering from want of provisions.

Then, on New Year's Day 1761, a cyclone broke upon the coast in full fury, and it appeared impossible that any ship could have escaped. Indeed, it was at first generally believed that the entire English squadron had perished, and Lally dispatched an urgent message to the French Resident at Pulicat, begging him to lose no time in forwarding supplies for the "saving of Pondicherry." But though three ships had foundered with almost all hands, three were stranded and four dismasted, the French soon realized that their adversaries were not rendered powerless. A part of the squadron, under Admiral Cornish, which had been refitting at Trincómalee, escaped the storm, and returned to Pondicherry on the 6th January. Colonel Coote sent to Madras for all the armed vessels and stores available, and meanwhile set about the erection of a fort to protect the men who were salving the wrecks. The Council at Madras responded to the call for assistance, and thus. in a few days, the English were again "formidable at sea." All hope of relief being now at an end, the garrison, "having no Provisions left," capitulated on the 15th January 1761.

There are several contemporary accounts of this cyclone among the India Office Records, as well as information collected by Robert Orme, and a report drawn up by him, some seventeen years after the event. There are also descriptions in the Logs of some of the vessels of Admiral Stevens' squadron, preserved at the Public Record Office. By the courtesy of the authorities, I now give these accounts in their original wording. A certain amount of repetition is unavoidable, but as each narration contains details not found in the other accounts, it has seemed advisable to print all the reports in their entirety. The whole collection forms a valuable addition to the history of cyclones in India in the 18th century.

Colonel Coote's Account of the Storm as recorded in his Journal.[1]

Tuesday 30th December 1760.—The surf ran so high this day that no stores could be landed.

Wednesday 31st December 1760.—The surf so great this day that no boat or Catamaran could go off to bring any stores on shore.

Thursday 1st January 1761.—Very cloudy weather all this morning. In the evening about 8 o'clock, it began to blow hard. At ten the most violent storm arose that has been known in the memory of man, and continued 'till 2 in the morning.

Friday 2nd January 1761.—The storm which happened last night almost ruined our batteries and working tools, destroyed intirely all our Pandalls [*pandâl*, a thatched shed] in Camp, and killed several black people. His Majesty's ships *Newcastle*, *Queenborough* and *Protector* drove on shore to the southward of Arioncopang[2]; all but five or six men in the crew saved. The *Duke of Aquitaine*, *Sunderland*, and *Duke* storeship foundered about one o'clock this morning. Only three men are saved out of those two men of war, and seven blacks out of the *Duke*; the *America*, *Panther*, *Medway* and *Falmouth* entirely dismasted and laying at anchor to the southward; no news yet of the *Norfolk*, Admiral Stevens, but fear she is lost. Wrote immediately to the Governor and Council of Bombay to acquaint them with this unhappy catastrophe, and requested they would immediately dispatch Captain Tideman and the men of war there to the Coast, and at the same time to send as much powder as they could possibly spare. Wrote also to the Governor and Council of Madras, and desired they would i mediately send supplies of stores to the army, in the room of those lost on board the *Duke*. Ordered all the Mussola [mussoola, *masûla*, a surf-boat] boats and Catamarans from the northward to assist the ships to the southward and those ashore off Arioncopang, also ordered provisions and arrack to be sent for the use of the sailors belonging to the *Newcastle*, *Queenborough* and *Protector*. Wrote to the officer commanding at Cudalore to dispatch immediately all his Mussola boats and Catamarans to assist the ships, and to send for those at Porto Novo and Deve Cotah.[3] . . . .

Sunday 4th January 1761.—This morning Admiral Stevens arrived in the *Norfolk* without any damage, also the *Grafton*, Captain Parker. Intercepted a letter from Mr. [Monsieur] Lally to one Mr. [Monsieur] Raymond[4] at some of the neutral ports, in which he desires him, in the most pressing manner, to send some rice to Pondicherry, and to run all risques and hazard every thing to effect it, if it was only half a Garce[5] at a time. He acquaints him that, as the English fleet was entirely destroyed, he had it once more in his power to save Pondicherry. Wrote to the Governor and Council of Madras to dispatch immediately all the armed vessels there to join the ships before Pondicherry. Wrote also to Admiral Stevens and sent him a copy of Mr. Lally's intercepted letter, at the same time represented to him my uneasiness least any boats with provisions should get into the

[1] *Orme MSS.*, *India*, Vol. VIII. pp. 1986-7.

[2] Ariankuppam, near Pondicherry.

[3] Porto Novo, on the Coast of S. Arcot, 32 miles South of Pondicherry. Devikotta, a Marâtha Fort.

[4] See *Infra* for a translation of this letter.

[5] A measure, varying from about 8,000 to 9,000 lbs. avoirdupois.

garrison, and recommended his ordering armed boats to keep constantly cruizing in shore, so as to prevent any thing getting in to their relief. Received advice from Negapatam that a boat loaded with provisions sailed from that port; acquainted Admiral Stevens with this immediately. . . .

Tuesday 6th January 1761.—The late storm having raised the sea so high as to wash away the Star redoubt, which was built between the Sea and the river to the Southward and thereby leave that part uncovered, I ordered the Engineers to mark out a fort capable of containing 300 men, so as intirely to cover the southward and prevent the enemy from sending out any parties to molest the seamen at the wrecks. Received a letter from Admiral Stevens, desiring me to send armed boats to cruize before Pondicherry. Wrote him for answer that I had none fit for that purpose, and even if I had, there were no proper people on shore to man them; also informed him that I had intelligence from the different neutral ports of several boats lading with provisions for the enemy, and that I made no doubt of his taking the necessary measures to prevent their getting into Pondicherry. This day Admiral Cornish[6] in the *Lenox*, with the *York* and *Weymouth*, arrived here, all well.

Colonel Coote's Report of the Storm to the Council at Fort St. George.[7]

Consultation, 4th January 1761.—This morning came in the following letter from Colonel Coote Commanding the Army before Pondicherry.

To the Honble. the President and Council of Fort St. George.

Gentlemen,—After the most terrible night of wind and rain that I ever was witness to, I have this morning the most dismal prospect. Our fleet (I am afraid) entirely destroyed. Four of the ships we see dismasted and two more on shore. The beach is covered with peices of wrecks; the Army almost in as great distress, having our Tents, Huts, and every thing belonging to us destroyed. Great numbers of the black people, men, women and Children have been killed. I fear greatly for the Ship *Duke;* she had the greater part of her stores on board. It is absolutely necessary that you, Gentlemen exert your utmost [endeavours] (by sending us as speedy supplys as possible) to make up for this unfortunate disaster, and to enable us at the same time to push on the Siege with vigor. I am by this shocken Scene of confusion so hurried, which prevents me from saying any thing further at present, than that I am, Gentlemen,

Your most obedient and most humble Servant,

EYRE COOTE.

Oulgaret,[8] *2d January* 1761.

To which was returned the following Answer:—

To Eyre Coote Esqr., Commander-in-Chief.

SIR,—We received this morning your favour of the 2d Instant with the unfortunate news of the sufferings the Fleet and Army have sustained by a storm of wind on the 1st Instant. The misfortune is great; so much the greater must our ardor be in preventing

[6] Rear Admiral Samuel Cornish, Cr. Bt. 1766, died 1770. See the *Dict. Nat. Biog.* for a notice of him. He succeeded Admiral Charles Stevens in command of the squadron, on the death of the latter in April 1761.

[7] *Madras Military Consultations*, Range 251, Vol. 47, pp. 1-3.

[8] Oulgaret, one of the four communes of Pondicherry.

the advantages the Enemy might otherwise make of our distress. Whatever can be done by us shall not be wanting. We had some part of the gale here, but the *Falmouth*, loaded with Stores, fortunately rode it out. We dispatch her to you this night. Two ships, (the *Lord Mansfield* and *Sandwich*) arrived from Bengal, shall in a few days carry you a further supply of Gunpowder. All our Carpenters are set to work to make more platforms, which shall also be forwarded to you as soon as they are finished, as well as every other store our Garrison affords.

We remain &ca.,
GEORGE PIGOT, &ca ,
Council.

Colonel Coote's further Report of the damage caused by the Storm.[9]

Consultation, 5th January, 1761.—The folowing letter received from Colonel Coote, with further particulars of the loss sustained by the Storm of wind on the 1st Instant

To the Honble. the President and Council of Fort St George

GENTLEMEN,—After I had the honor of writing to you yesterday, I went along the Sea Side to the Southward of Pondichery, where I had a most miserable prospect of our shattered fleet. It is not in my power to describe the horror of the night of the 1st and the dreadful effects of it. The best account I can give you is the following There are three ships on shore; most of the crews will be saved. The names are the *Newcastle*, *Queenborough* and *Protector*. Three ships have foundered, the *Duke of Aquitaine*, *Sunderland* and *Duke* Storeship; the two former had but one man saved, and the latter seven blacks. Four large ships are entirely dismasted; who they are, I do not exactly know nor can I tell any thing of the few remaining Ships of the Squadron Should the *Revenge* be carried at Madras I beg you would dispatch her immediately, and whatever armed Vessels you can collect, as we have not at present even a boat to block up the place. I sent off an express yesterday to Bombay, by way of Anjengo, in order to hurry round the Ships of war there, and I am doing every thing in my power to help the distressed people here, as well as to carry on the Attacks on this place. The Storm has almost rendered useless every thing I have hitherto done; yet I hope by a little activity and perseverence to get the better of this misfortune.

I have the honor to be, &ca.,
EYRE COOTE.

Head Quarters, 3d *January* 1761

Measures taken by the Council at Fort St. George in consequence of the above Report.

Such a Calamitous and unexpected accident to our Fleet at this time is indeed a very melancholy event We, however flatter ourselves that Admiral Cornish, with his Division, consisting of five ships of the Line, has escaped the Effects of the Storm, and that we shall in a few days hear of his arrival on the Coast to renw the blockade by Sea. In the mean time, that every precaution in our power may be taken to prevent the Enemy's getting in supplies by that means, RESOLVED that the *Lord Mansfield* and *Sandwich*, which imported here from Bengal the 3rd Instant do take on board as much Gunpowder as they can receive for the Siege of Pondichery, and proceed to the Southward with all Expedition for that Service.

[9] *Madras Military Consultations*, Range 240, Vol. 47, pp. 3-5.

And Ordered that Mr. Milton, the Commisary General of Stores at Camp, be wrote to for an account of the stores that had been landed from the *Duke*, that all possible means may be taken for replacing the deficiency occasioned by the loss of that Ship.

Ordered that Pattamars [*pathmâr*, a foot runner, messenger] be dispatched to Bombay and Bengal with Advices of the late disaster which has happened to the Fleet, and to request of the Gentlemen at Bombay to communicate the same to the Commanders of any of his Majesty's ships there, that they may be prepared to execute such orders as they may receive from the Admiral, from whom as yet we have received no Advices since the Accident. We are uncertain what measures he may think most expedient to take for refitting the disabled Ships and as a part of our battering Cannon is lost in the *Duke*. It is AGREED to request they will supply us with this Article as far as they are able.

Report of the Storm sent to Bombay, 5th January 1761, by the Council at Fort St. George.[10]

Honble. Sir and Sirs,—Since our last of the 20th Ultimo, we have received your favor under date the 27th November.

Admiral Stevens, with the *Norfolk*, *Sunderland*, *Falmouth* and *Protector*, joined the five Ships under Captain Haldane's Command off Pondichery the 25th of last Month, and the *Queenborough* a day or two after, having left Tricamallay [Trincomallee, Ceylon] the 16th, and parted from the *Lenox*, *Grafton*, *Weymouth*, *York*, *Salisbury*, *Tartar* Sloop and *Compagnie des Indes*, French Prize, under Admiral Cornish, off Point Pedro.[11]

After this favorable account of the chief part of the Squadron being safe on the Coast, it is with pain we proceed to describe the very unfortunate Catastrophe which happened by the effects of a most violent gale of wind off Pondicherry the 1st Instant. All the particulars we have as yet received of this unhappy event are as follow. The *Newcastle*, *Queenborough* and *Protector* drove ashore near Ariancopang the crews saved; the *Duke of Aquitaine*, the *Sunderland*, and the Company's Ship *Duke* laden with Stores for the Siege, founder'd: of the two former, only one was saved, and a few Lascars of the latter. The *Norfolk*, *America*, *Medway*, *Falmouth* and *Panther* rode it out, but were obliged to cut away all their Masts, and we hear are otherwise much damaged: the *Liverpool* Frigate put to Sea, and has not since been heard of. The *Elizabeth*, *South Sea Castle* and *Hermione*, French Prize, we understand were sent round to Bombay from Trincomalay, and that the *Tyger* was left at the last mentioned place to compleat her Repairs.

As we are quite uncertain what measures the Admiral may think most expedient to take for refitting the disabled Ships, we can only give you this early notice, and request that you will be pleased to communicate the same to the Commanders of any of His Majesty's Ships with you, that they may be prepared to execute such orders as they may receive from the Admiral. The Instant we are informed of his resolution, we shall dispatch another Pattamar to you.

We have had no certain accounts of Admiral Cornish since Mr. Steevens left him off Point Pedro, as abovementioned, but a private letter just received mention[s] five Ships being seen to the Northward of Pondichery, which we hope to be his division.

Our Camp has also suffered by the Storm, but we are exerting our utmost endeavours to press the Siege with Vigour, and prevent, as far as we are able, the advantages the Enemy

10 *Madras Military Consultations*, Range 251, Vol. 47.

11 A point at the extreme N. E. of Ceylon, near Point Palmyra.

might otherwise reap from this Calamity. Some reports speak of the arrival of the Ships destined to your Presidency at Anjengo. We hope it is true and are persuaded your Honor &c., will not lose a moment to give us all the Assistance in your power.

The *Lord Mansfield* and *Sandwich* from Bengal imported here the 2d Instant. Their arrival is very opportune to assist in carrying Stores for the siege of Pondichery. They have Salt Petre on board for your Presidency. Whether we can send them round conveniently with the present circumstances of Affairs we cannot yet determine. You may, however, depend that nothing but absolute necessity shall induce us to detain them.

Our call for Gunpowder is so great that we hope your Honor &c., will excuse our repeated Request that you will send us as large a supply as you can possibly spare and find conveyance for; and as we have lost a part of our battering Cannon for the Siege of Pondichery, if you can assist us in this Article with some 18 or 24 pounders, they will be very acceptable.

We are &c.,
GEORGE PIGOT, &c.,
Council.

Admiral Charles Steevens' Report of the Storm to the Council at Fort St. George.[12]

Consultation 7th January 1761.—Received the following letter from Admiral Steevens to the President and Council at Fort St. George.

GENTLEMEN,—On the first Instant, observing the weather squally and unsettled, I made every necessary disposition to prepare His Majesty's Ships under my Command for going to Sea, if I found myself under an absolute necessity of running out with the Squadron.

At eight o'Clock at night it began to be squally, the wind at N. W. by N. and at ten, I found myself under an absolute necessity of cutting my cable, and making a signal for the squadron to do the same, driving off under a Reef'd Mizen. From half past ten to half past eleven the wind increased, blowing very hard; at twelve it became moderate, and continued so till near one a'clock; then the wind shifted to the S. E. Quarter, and continued to blow harder than it did before, till about 3, the *Norfolk* at that time standing to the N. E. under a Reef'd Foresail, and when I could sound, only shoaled my water from 17 to 14 fathom, which soundings I kept till the weather moderated. At 7 o'Clock in the morning saw Sadrass[13] to the W. N. W., distant 5 Leagues. I then thought it necessary to haul off the land till the weather settled, having received no other damage than splitting a Reef'd Mainsail and Mizen, and losing my long boat; during the Storm I made (from the Ships labouring) 4 feet water.

Yesterday I spoke with the *Liverpool* at Sea, who had lost all her Masts, and soon after spoke with the *Grafton*, and left her to take care of the said Ship, as I pushed here this morning with all possible expedition, to be ready to assist the distressed ships of the squadron.

The *Grafton* and *Liverpool* are come to an Anchor off this place, and from the *Grafton* I am informed that on the 28th Ultimo, at about 30 Leagues off the Land He saw Rear Admiral Cornish with the *York* and *Weymouth* in Company.

Enclosed I transmit you the best account I can at present learn of the unfortunate lost and distressed Ships of the Squadron.

[12] *Madras Military Consultations*, Range 251, Vol. 47, pp. 12-15.

[13] Sadras (Seven Pagodas) in Chingleput District, then a Dutch settlement.

I have only at present to beg the favor you will please to get Ships or Vessels to send down to the Squadron all the provisions the Agent Victualler has wrote to Mr. Morse about, as we are in great want of those Articles; as also all the Massoolah boats you can possibly get for the service of the squadron to water the Ships, and save what stores we can out of the wrecked Ships, as we have lost all our Long Boats, and most part of the other boats.

I am &ca.,
CHARLES STEEVENS.

Norfolk, off Pondichery, 4th January 1761.

Account of the Loss sustained by the fleet in the late Storm.

Aquitain, founder'd, one man saved only.

Sunderland, a few saved, the Ship founder'd.

Queenborough, lost, the people saved.

Medway, *America*, *Panther*, *Falmouth* and *Liverpool*, dismasted.

Newcastle, ashore, the People saved.

Duke, Company's Ship, founder'd at her Anchors.

Protector, lost, people saved.

In answer to which the following draft was prepared, and Ordered to be immediately wrote fair and dispatched.

To Charles Steevens, Esqr., Rear Admiral of the Red and Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Squadron in India, Sir,—Amidst the deepest concern on account of the disaster which has befallen those ships of your squadron which remained in Pondichery road, it is a great consolation to us to learn by your letter of the 4th Instant that you are safe with His Majesty's Ship *Norfolk* and that the Ships which were not yet arrived with Mr. Cornish has been seen in good condition since the storm.

We beg, Sir, you will rely on our utmost endeavours to render you all possible assistance in this your distress; we would even anticipate your wishes if we knew how. The *Lord Mansfield* and *Sandwich*, lately arrived from Bengal, having provisions on board for the use of the Squadron, shall be dispatched to you without delay; the former we beleive will sail tomorrow, and the other the next day. The *Revenge* and *Tartar* Sloop, arrived here, shall be returned to you as soon as the stores Mr. Morse has to send you can be put on board. The *Admiral Watson* and *Fort William* Schooner shall be also sent back as soon as they arrive, and we have this day dispatched to you 13 Massoolah boats, which are all we have, except a very few reserved for the necessary services of the settlement.

We have the honor to be &ca.,
GEORGE PIGOT &ca.,
Council.

Further Reports from Colonel Coote: Effect of the news of the disaster wrought by the Storm on the garrison at Pondicherry.[14]

Consultation 7th January 1761.—Two Letters from Colonel Coote read as follows.—To the Honble. the President and Council of Fort St. George. Gentlemen,—I have the pleasure to inform you that a ship appeared this morning, which we take for Admiral Steevens, whom every body gave over for lost. I have the honor to inclose you copy of a letter I intercepted from Mr. Lally, by which you will see how absolutely necessary it is to send here all the armed vessels at Madras. As I have not had the least intelligence as yet from

[14] *Madras Military Consultations*, Range 251, Vol. 47, pp. 15-17.

thence, I am uneasy about the fate of the *Falmouth* with our stores, and to know whether you have had the gale so violent with you as we have had it here.

I have the honor to be &ca.,
EYRE COOTE.

Head Quarters, 4th January 1761.

The intercepted Letter mentioned by Colonel Coote is from Mr. Lally to Mr. Raymond, the French Resident at Pullicat,[15] importing that the English Squadron is entirely distroyed by the effects of the late storm, and therefore enjoining him to send boats laden with rice to Pondichery by every possible means.

To the Honble. the President and Council of Fort St. George. Gentlemen, . . . The Ship which we yesterday took for Admiral Steevens proves to be really his; he has met with no damage. The *Grafton* is also arrived; she spoke with Mr. Cornish on the 28th of last month.

I have &ca.,
EYRE COOTE.

Head Quarters, 5th January 1761.

A True Copy of General Lally's intercepted note to Mr. Raymond, brought to the Commander in chief the 4th January 1761.[16]

Translation.

PONDICHERY,
2d January 1761.

Mr. Raymond,—The English squadron is no more, Sir; out of the twelve ships which they had in our Road, seven have perished, Crews and all; four are rased (or dismasted) and it appears that there is but one frigate that hath escaped: therefore lose not an instant to send us Chelingues upon Chelingues,[17] loaded with Rice. The Dutch have nothing to fear now. Besides, according to the rights of the nations, they are only not to send provisions themselves, and we are no more blockt up by the sea. The saving of Pondichery has been in your hands once already: if you miss this opportunity, it will be intirely your fault; don't forget also some small Chelingues. Offer large rewards. I expect seventeen thousand Maratos [Marâthas] within these four days. In short, risk every thing, and send us some Rice, should it be but half a Garce at a time.

(Signed) L.

Captain Affleck's Account of the Storm at Pondicherry, 1st January 1761, as given to Robert Orme in London in April, 1778.[18]

On the first of January 1761 the weather was so bad and the sea ran so high that no boats could pass from ship to ship; there being strong indications of a severe gale in the afternoon, Admiral Stevens made some preparations for putting to sea with the fleet (if it should be necessary), consisting of the *Norfolk* of 74 Guns where his flag flew, the *Duc d'Aquitaine* of 64, the *America, Medway, Panther, Sunderland* of 60, the *Falmouth* and *Newcastle* of 50, the *Liverpool* of 28, and the *Queenborough* of 20, the remaining part of the fleet

[15] Pulicat, in Chingleput District, where the Dutch had a settlement.

[16] *Orme MSS., India*, Vol. VI. p. 2043.

[17] Chelingo, chelingue, etc., (Arab. *shalandi*) a cargo row-boat used for discharging troops.

[18] *Orme MSS.*, Vol. 63, p. 219.

not having yet joined him from Ceyloan. The wind continued off the land till 9 P. M., when it began veering to the Northward, at which hour it is supposed the Admiral put to sea; but the violence of the gale and the darkness of the night prevented the squadron from the knowledge of his intentions, and they consequently lay at anchor as long as their cables would hold them. About 10 o'clock all the Ships were adrift, having parted their cables; about midnight the wind shifted to the S. E. and blew with exceeding violence, and exhibited in the morning the dreadful scene of four ships in the offing dismasted and several driven ashore on the beach: this was not however the most melancholy circumstance.

The *Duc d'Aquitaine*, commanded by Sir William Hewit, and the *Sunderland* by Captain Colvill foundered in the gale, and out of both ships only nine men were saved, who were taken up by the *Panther's* boat in the morning, having been six hours driving about in the sea on pieces of the Masts and Yards which had been cut away. The Ships which were obliged to cut away their Masts were the *America*, Capt. Haldane, *Medway*, *Tinker*, *Falmouth*, *Brereton* and *Panther*, Affleck; and the *Newcastle*, *Collins* and *Queenborough*, Daniel, were driven ashore near Areocapang, where being out of the reach of the guns of Pondicherry, their hulls were only lost, the crews, stores and provisions being all saved. Of the whole number of Ships lying the preceding day off Pondicherry, the Admiral's ship and *Liverpool* now remained to be accounted for: it was a general apprehension that the former had foundered, but the *Liverpool* having been stationed to the southward of the fleet and at a greater distance from the shore, had probably put to sea. On the 3d in the afternoon, these fears were removed by the Admiral's flag appearing and with him the *Liverpool*, who had been dismasted; the *Norfolk* had suffered no damage, having put to sea, when the other ships, not being able to see or hear his signal, were obliged to lye at Anchor untill their cables parted.

Robert Orme's Queries to Captain Affleck regarding the Storm, with the Captain's Answers.[19]

Queries.

Did they anchor again or drive before the North storm until obliged to turn again to the land when it changed to the S. E., and then, having shoaled their water, anchor again; Or had they been able to avoid anchoring until the wind fell? I speak now more particularly of the ships which were riding in the morning, the *America*, *Medway*, *Panther* and *Falmouth*. At what time did these ships cut away their masts? Did they leave any one of the masts standing?

Is it known whether the *Duke of Acquitaine* and *Sunderland* foundered at their anchors, or when adrift, and at what part of the gale did they founder?

At what time of the gale were the *Newcastle* and *Sunderland* driven ashore? Did they anchor again after they first parted their cables and then part them again, and so drive ashore? It is more probable that they drove ashore whilst adrift. From the first I have a note that the masts of the *Duke of Acquitain* and *Sunderland* appeared the next morning just above the water. In what sounding did they founder?

Answers.

About 10 o'clock all the ships were adrift, having parted their cables.

In regard to the *Panther* she parted her S. B. [starboard bower] Cable about 9 o'clock, let go her B. B. [best bower] and brought up at 2 Cables an (*sic*) end by which she rode about 20 minutes, when that cable parting, she put to sea and set the reefed courses and

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19 *Orme MSS.*, Vol. 63, pp. 223-236.

stood off. The mainsail almost immediately split to pieces. Continued standing to the eastward under F. S. and reefed and balanced mizen, the wind veering to the N. E., and blowing violently: between 11 and 12 it died away suddenly, which being a certain indication of its shifting to the southward and redoubling its violence, hauled up the F. S. [foresail] and wore with the fore stay sail: in veering, narrowly escaped being on board the *Newcastle*. The wind at 12 o'clock burst from the S. E., with amazing force, which broached the ship too, and laid her on her beam ends. Cut away the mizen mast to endeavour at veering, but to no effect; the ship not righting and being full of water, cut away the mainmast, which broke below the upper deck and tore up the deck; the ship then was so filled with water between decks that the men could not stand at the pumps. The mainmast providentially soon broke near the gunwale, on which the ship righted: Scuttled the lower deck and freed the ship of water by the pumps. The wind continued with great violence from the eastward, and the ship consequently driving on the shore till about two, during which time were employed clearing away as much as possible of the wreck; then let go the sheet anchor to prevent driving under the guns of Pondicherry, but not bringing up, were obliged to cut away the foremast, by which the bowsprit was also lost. She then brought up and rode safe in twelve fathoms water.[20]

The *Norfolk*, 74 guns, Captain Kempenfelt. Admiral Steven's ship.

Captain Kempenfelt's letter to Admiral Pocock, which I have, gives an account of what happened to her in the storm.[21]

The *Duke of Acquitaine*, 64 guns, Sir William Hewit.

Mr Cuthbert (April 2d. 1778), thinks she overset as she was endeavouring to cut her masts after she had parted her cables; this is in the S. E. part of the gale.

The *Sunderland*, 60 guns, Captain Colville.

Mr. Cuthbert says she would not cut away her masts, and the sea tore out her bows.

When the *Sunderland* was on her beam ends and it was proposed to Captain Colvill to cut away the masts, he replied, "of what use will the ship be against the enemy without masts," and attempted to cut away the main mast when it was too late.

The *Liverpool*, 28 guns, Captain [Richard Knight].

She was at anchor to the north of the other ships, put out to sea without sail. On the S. E. gale all her masts without sail were carried away. She made the land on the [?] off of Palliacate [Pulicat], and fell in with the *Norfolk* at sea.

The *Panther*, 60 guns, Captain Affleck.

Parted her cables at about 10. Was riding by her last cable when the storm ceased, and that cable was half cut through at the bows.

The *America*, 60 guns, Captain Haldane.

As the *Panther*, for what I know of her.

The *Medway*, 60 guns, Captain Tinker.[22]

As the *Panther*, for what I know of her.

The *Falmouth*, 50 guns, Capt. Brereton.

The same as the *Panther* for what I know of her.

The *Newcastle*, 50 guns, Captain Collins.[23]

Drove ashore nearly opposite to the fort of Ariancopang; at what hour, what happened to her before, I don't know.

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20 For further details see the extract from the Log of the *Panther*, which follows that of the *Norfolk*, *infra*.

21 See *infra* for this account.

22 For details of what happened to the *Medway*, see the extract from her Log, *infra*.

The *Queenborough*, 20 guns, Captain Daniel.

The same as the *Newcastle*: I know no more of her.[23]

The *Duke* Storeship.

She went ashore as the *Newcastle* and *Queenborough*: I know no more of her.

The *Weymouth*, 60 guns, Captain Somerset.

Coming from Trincomalley, anchored in the evening of the 1st of January in Negapatam road, saw signs of bad weather, and that the Dutch on shore had struck the top mast of their flag staff, from which Somerset confirmed his own opinion, and put to sea. The gale arose from the N. E., and it was with difficulty he weathered a spit of sand which runs off from the head of Ceylon, when having got sea room, and out of the strength of the run of the storm, all was well, but he carried in proportion to the wind more sail than [ever] in his life [before] to clear the sand

State of the Squadron after the Storm January 2d 1761.[24]

Name of Vessel	No. of Guns.	Name of Captain.	State of Vessel
America	60	Haldane	Dismasted
Medway	60	Tinker	Dismasted.
Newcastle	50	Collins, alive	Stranded.
Salisbury	50	Sir Wm. Baird	At sea, Well.
Tyger	60	.. .. ..	At Madras, Well.
Queenborough	20	Daniel	Stranded.
Duke of Aquitain	64	Sir William Hewit. ..	Foundered.
Sunderland	60	Colvill	Foundered.
Falmouth	50	Brereton, alive	Dismasted.
Panther	60	Affeck ,, ...	Dismasted.
Grafton	70	Parker	At sea, Well.
Lenox	74	Ad. Cornish	,, ,,
York	60	.. .. .	,, ,,
Weymouth	60	Somerset, alive	,, ,,
Norfolk	74	Kempenfelt, Admiral Stevens, alive	Got through the storm.
Liverpool	28	Knight	,, ,,

Stranded-*Protector* [fireship].

Foundered-*Duke* [country vessel].

Dismasted	4
Stranded	1
Foundered	3
	8
Safe	1
	9

[23] For further particulars of the *Newcastle* and *Queenborough*, see the extracts from their Logs, *infra*

[24] *Orme MSS.*, Vol. 63, p. 190.

it blew the whole Day from the N. N. W. with a close Sky, but not a Windy aspect till the afternoon, when we reeft our Courses and prepared to put to Sea, tho' it did not blow any thing fresh till after 8, when it became Squally; at 10 we made the Signal to Cut. It immediately came on to blow so Violent that we could shew no Sail. However, we drifted off as the Wind was at North.[33] At 12 it fell at once moderate, and the rain which was during the Gale ceased, and the Sky looked quiet and still. We set our Courses, and the Wind vereing to the S. E., we wore to the Starboard Tack. Scarce had we trim'd the Foresail, when of a sudden it flew up thick all round, and the wind came pouring down from the S. E., with a Fury and Impetuosity far beyond any thing I had ever seen. Our Mainsail, tho' close up in the Braces, was in a moment all in Rags, the Mizen the same, but the Foresail to a miracle stood. We were but in 16 fathom when we made the signal to wear, and the Wind hauling more out to the Eastward, gave us but little prospect of Clearing the Land. Every thing was prepared for cutting the Masts away and bringing up with a couple of Anchors in case we had thowled [sic, ? shoaled] our Water. I kept the Master to the Lead, and finding that we preserved our depth, which was 14 fathom, resumed hopes of saving the Ship and her Masts to[o]. At 4 the Gale abaited, and at Daylight it was moderate enough to set the Topsails. When we looked round and could see no Ships, we had Melancholy apprehensions for the rest of the Squadron. If they had got off it must have been on the same Tack we did, and of Course would have been in sight. The next Day we fell in with the *Liverpool* Dismasted, as Captain Knight said, by the meer force of the Wind, having no Sail set. The 4th we Anchored in Pondicherry Road again, which Exibeted a most Meloncholy scene, repleat with all the ruinous devastation of the most cruel Storm. Some ships there was riding, but all their Masts gone, others ashore and some sunk, their Masts appearing just above the Water, the Sea and Shore spread with Floating Carcasses and the ruins of Masts, Yards, etc. The particulars of which are these—the *America, Panther* and *Falmouth,* but their masts away and brought up with their Anchors; the *Newcastle, Queenborough* and *Protector* Fireship were ashore near Ariacupong, but saved all their people. The *Duke of Aquitaine, Sunderland,* and a large Ship belonging to the Company Ordnance Stores [the *Duke*], Foundered and only 15 Men, most of which Lascars, out of the whole, saved. This Gale acting with such Extream Violence, did not extend far. It was neither felt at Madrass[34] nor Negapatam; the *Revenge,* tho' not far off in the Offin at that time, had it not, and the *Liverpool,* who put out of the Road in the Forenoon of the 1st, had the height of it at 8 at Night from the N. N. W., but had nothing of the S. E. Gale which with us was by much the most Violent.

The 6th of January Admiral Cornish, joind us with the rest of the Ships from Trinonomal [Trincomalee]. Luckey in having a long Passage, they had no Wind Extraordinary, only an uncommon Large Irregular Swell. Another remarkable thing is that tho' the Swell with us was prodigious large just before the Gale came on, yet it fell as the Wind increased, and in the height of the Storm the Sea was smooth. For two or three days after I never saw the water so smooth upon the Coromandel Coast.

This Gale, happening to [? so] late in the Year, when the apprehentions of them are over, together with the Hazard of Provisions getting in to Pondicherry, on the preventing which the Reduction of the Place chiefly depended if the Squadron should be absent, were

[33] For further particulars, see the extracts from the Log of the *Norfolk*, which follows.

[34] This is not quite correct. See the letter from the Council at Madras to Colonel Eyre Coote, of 4th January 1761, *ante*, p 4.

the reasons that induced Mr. Stevens to defer too long the Signal for putting out. This disaster, great as it was, did not interrupt the Proceeding against Pondicherry, and the want of the Cannon lost in the Storeship was supplyed from the *Newcastle*. We got two Batteries advanced, of 10 Guns and 3 Morters, each near [the] N. W. Bastion, which soon destroyed all the Defences that opposed them there. . . .

I am with perfect Respect Sir,

To Your most Humble and most Obedt. Servant,

ADMIRAL POCOCK. RD. KEMPENFELT.

Extract of the Log of the Norfolk, Captain Richard Kempenfelt.[35]

Friday, 2d January 1761.—Fresh gales and hazey with rain . . . the gale increasing at 8 and ½ past 10, stormy wind with hard wind and sharp lightning from N. W. to N. E., at which time parted the Best Bower. Cut it at the Splice of the 2d Cable, Slipt the Kedge Anchor with 2 Hawsers bent to it, cast her Lead off shore to the Eastward, brac'd the yards up and kept the Wind a point abaft the Beam to gain an Offing, not daring to set any Sail as no Canvas could hold against the Violence of the Wind. At 11 the Longboat broke adrift; lost in her all her Sails &ca, ½ past 11 had 3 foot of Water to Leeward on the Gun deck, Occasioned by not being able to get on the Bucklers, hause, &c., also making great Quantities of Water from the Water Walls, Upper Works, and post rope holes, which obliged us to Scuttle the lower Deck to let the Water down the Hold. At 12 the Gale began to Abate. Set the fore Main and mizen Courses; ½ past 6 Saw Sail of the Squadron without Us, one of which appeared to have lost all her Masts. Shew'd the Topp and Poop Lights. At 1 A.M., the wind Still Veering to the N. E., fired 3 Guns, the Signal to wear, and Wore to the N. E. and brought her a little too, on the Starboard Tack, so as to have the Wind about 2 points abaft the Beam; then hawling the Foretack on board, was suddenly attacked with a very violent Storm from the S. E Quarter, which laid the Muzzels of the Upper Deck Guns in the water, blew the Mainsail from the Yard (then close hauled up) and the Mizen from the Mast and Yard (hauld close up in the Brails), and Foretopmast staysail away out of the netting, and the Main topmast Staysail loose and split it, Unshipped, and blew over board the middle poop Lanthorn. Kept the wind sometimes one point and sometimes two points abaft the Beam and shoald the Water Gradually. At 4 the Gale began to Abate.

Extract of the Log of the Panther, Captain Philip Affleck.[36]

Friday, 2d January 1761.—At 1 A.M., the wind increas'd with great violence . . . haul'd up the Courses, but could not furl them . . . At ½ past 1 the ship lay so much on her beam ends and pressed with water both in the hold and between decks, were obliged to cut away the main mast to right her, which carried away the Mizen Mast. She then righted a little . . . the ship falling off by the loss of her mast, so as not to clear the land, let go the sheet anchor, which not bringing her up at a cable and a half, cut away the foremast and lost the bowsprit, in which she brought up in 3 fathoms . . . At 3 A. M., it began to moderate; lost three Men, one with the Main Mast, one with the Bowsprit, and one with the Long boat, which Stove and Sunk at parting the S.B. [starboard bower] Cable, and

[35] *Captains' Logs*, 643 (Public Record Office.)

[36] *Captains' Logs*, 666 (Public Record Office.)

was Cut adrift. At daylight saw 4 Sail of dismasted Ships at Anchor, and 3 Ships stranded; launched a Cutter overboard, and took up 8 Men belonging to the *Sunderland* who foundered in the Gale.

Extract of the Log of the Medway, Captain John Bladen Tinker.[37]

1st and 2d January 1761.—Ship so very light that I apprehended she would not carry sail. At 10 stormy squalls and rain. At ½ past 10 at night the ship drove, and as we came near the Admiral, in whose Hawse we rode, we cut the cable, loosd the yard arms of the Foresail in order to clear him and shoot farther from the shore. The sails split to peices, and as the long boat and hawser got foul of the rudder, we cut her away . . . As we expected a second and more violent attack of the storm; as soon as the ship was about, the wind flew about to the Southward, and blowed so extremely hard that all the sails flew to Peices, and laid the ship Lee Gunwale under water. At 2 found the ship water logged, which obliged us to cutt away all the masts to right the ship . . . Ordered the people to the pumps, there being upwards of 10 ft. water in her, found the platform of the magazine blown up, the powder barrels all stove and the powder all washed away. When the foremast went away, it carried away the sheet and kedge anchors, the davit, and one of the forecastle guns. Some of the wreck got foul of the sheet anchor, which obliged us to wear away some of the cable, to clear it from the ships bottom. In the morning at day light saw 3 sails within us dismasted, and 3 more that were drove ashore and lost . . .

Extract of the Log of the Newcastle.[38]

Friday 2d January 1761.—At eleven it blew so Extreamly hard N. W., that our Cables parted. Do. Cutt away the Remainder part of the Cables at the Manger Board and hoisted the Fore Topmast Staysails to Ware clear of the *Panther*, which Immidiately blew away. Then hoisted the fore stay sails, which also blew away. Soon after finding ourselves Clear of the *Panther*, then Entirely Loosed the Yards Arms of the Fore Sails, which blew Entirely to peices, and then Bunted the spritsails and Loosed the Yard arms of it, which Likewise blew away; soon after it fell Little Wind . . . In A Instant the Wind Encreased to a Haracan at S. E., the ship flew up to the Wind with her Lead to the Southward; Do. Lasshed the Fore Topsails Yard to the Cap and Loosed the Goose Wings of the Fore Topsails to Endeavour to Ware the Ship. When she had fallen of to W. N. W., saw a sail Close on board of us right a head; we put the helm Down to run Clear of her, which she Immediately Broched to; then the Fore Topsails blew to peices, and soon after the Fore Topmast was blown over the Side . . . At the time we had four feet Water between Deck, and the Carpenters employed Scutling the Lower Deck; at the same time we were Cutting away the Main Mast, at which time the Man at the Lead said there was 17 fadom Water, when she Instantly struck the ground and the Main Mast fell over the side. At 6 A. M., observed tne *Queenborough* and the *Protector* fire Ship on Shore to the Northward of us and the *Duke of Acquitain* Sunk without us, and the *America, Panther Midway* and *Falmouth* at anchor in the offing with all there masts gon; Do. employed Making Catamarrans to get the people on Shore.

Extract of the Log of the Queenborough.[39]

Friday 2d January 1761.—½ past 11 the fore topmast staysail blew all to pieces . . . at 12 . . . saw 4 or 5 ships, one upon the larboard beam hailing us to get out of the

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[37] *Captains' Logs*, 593 (Public Record Office.)
[38] *Masters Logs*, 956 (Public Record Office.)
[39] *Masters Logs*, 993 (Public Record Office.)

way. Do. loos'd the topsail and backed a stern, not having room to wear . . ½ past . . . the foresail and Mizen Topsail Blew all away to peices, Carried away the head of the Foremast in the Wake of the Fore Yard Jibb Boom and Main Topmast and Main Yard Arm, Brought too and Carry'd away the Mizen Topmast. People employed pumping of the Ship. Found She made a Great Quantity of Water . . . Do. Found the Ship to Strike very heavy. Do. Cutt away the Main Mast and Mizon Mast to Ease her, the Sea makeing a Free passage over Us.

Description of the Storm of 1st January 1761, in a letter from (Brigadier General) Richard Smith,[40] to his Sister.

[25th *January* 1761.]

MY DEAR SISTER,

The glorious sixteenth of January has crowned all our hopes! has given us the Accomplishment of all our Wishes! has finished a Ten Years War by a total Expulsion of our Enemies! and this by the Reduction of Ponticherry, which is now an English Conquest! Colonel Coote is the Favorite of Fortune. This grand Event has been brought about by Prudence and good Conduct. Nine Months were they blockaded, the four last very closely. Providence seemed to favour our Designs. Our Army was by no means equal to a regular Attack. We were certain the Place must fall, if not relieved by a French Squadron, and we had no Idea of an Enemy's Fleet that could appear before ours. The 8th December we opened some Batteries of Cannon and Mortars, more to amuse, than from any Expectations of Success. These continued playing untill New Years Day. Perhaps we had been too sanguine in our Hopes, but that Night gave a Damp to all our Expectations and convinced our Army that without the Almighty is on our side, the Race is not always to the Swift nor the Battle to the strong. About Ten at Night there arose such a terrible Gale of Wind that surpassed the Memory of Man. In Camp all the Tents and Huts were demolished, our Batteries ruined, and many poor Objects died thro' the Violence of the Wind and Rain. But dismal as was such a scence, our Army had no Thoughts for themselves. Their Attention was ingrost for their Naval Friends. With how much Impatience did they wait for Morning. Too soon it came to discover such a scene of Horror! The *Newcastle* of 60 Guns,[41] the *Queenborough* Frigate and *Protector* fireship were stranded on the Beach—the Crews saved. The *Sunderland* of 60 Guns, the *Duc D'Aquitaine* of 64 Guns foundered just without the surf; only two or three souls escaped. The *Duke*, a Country Vessel landed with Stores for the Siege, foundered. The *America, Medway, Falmouth* and *Panther* of the Line, and the *Liverpool* Frigate dismasted. Admiral Stevens in the *Norfolk*, stood early out to Sea, and escaped. The rest of our Fleet were fortunately not returned on the Coast. Here was a scene of Distress, and at a Period, too when we were on the Point of accomplishing our Wishes. However, a few days made us appear formidable again at sea. Admiral Stevens returned; Admiral Cornish with his Division arrived; the dismasted Ships got up Jury Masts, and we had by the 10th Eleven Sail of the Line. Our Damages by Land were soon repaired. On the 10th a Battery of Ten Pieces was opened within six hundred Yards of the Walls. On the 13th We began our Approaches, and in that and the succeeding Night accomplished such a prodigious Task of Trenches and raised another Battery of eleven Pieces

[40] Richard Smith, a purser's mate, entered the Company's service as Ensign, became Captain in 1758 (and A. D. C. to General Stringer Laurence) and Major in 1762. See Love: *Vestiges of Old Madras* (Indian Records Series), II. 423 n.

[41] Affleck's list, *ante*, has 50 guns.

within 4 or 500 Yards of the Walls, that it amazed the besieged. On the 15th this Battery was opened, and we then fixed [? fired] from thirty three Pieces of Cannon and nine Mortars. That same Evening Commissaries came from the Fort to capitulate. Colonel Coote would hearken to no Terms; surrender at Discretion was the Word. And to this they were obliged to submit, having no Provisions left. . . .

Thus has fallen the famous Ponticherry, and since the Attack of the Bounds and Intrenchments in September, we have not lost but one Officer and less than twenty Men. Had we, like Lally, attempted at first a regular Attack, like him, we had been foiled. Now we have succeeded, what a Prospect does this open to us! If properly managed. The Company will be soon reimbursed near 80 Lack of Rupees (their Debt from the Nabob), besides future Advantages.

News of the loss of another boat in the Storm of 1st January, 1761.

Consultation at Fort St. George, *26th January*, 1761.[42]

The following Letter read from Mr. Claud Russel, Commissary to the Army.

To the Honble. George Pigot Esq., President and Governor &ca., Council of Fort St. George. Honble. Sir and Sirs,

The boat *Physioramany* which you were pleased to send me with a Cargo of Grain the 26th Ultimo, arrived at the King's Redoubt but two days before the late Storm. The Commander in Chief was then so anxious to have the Military Stores landed from the *Duke*, for which purpose every boat was employed, it was out of my power to have any of the grain brought ashore in that short interval, so that the whole must have perished with the Vessel, which has not been heard of since that unfortunate night . . .

I have &ca.,
CLAUD RUSSEL.

CAMP BEFORE PONDICHERY,
12th January 1761.

THE HISTORY OF THE NAIK KINGDOM OF MADURA.

BY V. RANGACHARI, M.A., L.T., MADRAS.

(*Continued from p. Vol. XLV, p. 204.*)

De Nobilis' retirement in 1645 and last days.

About 1645 the active work of De Nobilis as a missionary came to a close. He thenceforward lived as a retired servant of God. Other men continued his work, and he gave simple advice. Even at this time of weakness and old age, the father provincial thought so much of him that he sent him in 1648 to Jaffnapatam as the superior of the Ceylon mission. Too weak and blind to work, however, De Nobilis left Ceylon and went to Mylapore, where, in a small hut, he lived the last few months of his simple life. In these days he was attended by four Brahman converts, who carried him, whenever he wanted, to the church in their arms. His simple meal, taken once a day, consisted of herbs cooked in water and seasoned with salt and spice. On account of his blindness he never went out of his hut and spent almost all his time in dictating something to his attendants. One day in 1660, he was removed, on account of the fury of some Hindus, who had been provoked by the Christians, to the Christian quarters within the fortress. The change did him no

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[42] *Madras Military Consultations*, Range 251, Vol. 47, pp. 78-79.

good, and soon he died. It is said that, at the point of death, he expressed the hope that the cabin from which he had been removed for safety's sake, would be safe and sound, while the fortress and the town would be no more; and that the prophecy was afterwards fulfilled; for "it is recorded that the French of Pondicherry drove the Portuguese out of Mylapore, and were in turn driven out by the Sultan of Golcondah, the ally of the Portuguese who, fearing the return of the French, razed the walls, and took the stones into the country, leaving only the little cabin." (Chandler).

Such were the life and labours of the remarkable man who founded the Jesuit Mission in Madura. Defects there were in his character. Questionable were his actions. Positively repulsive were some of the means he employed. But who will deny that for the acuteness of his vision, the profundity of his scholarship, the originality of his method, and the clearness of his view, he stands unrivalled in the history of Christianity in India? Who will deny that this "Romish Brahman", this saint and scholar, this sage and seer, was the most transcendental personality in the annals of Indian missions? By his merits and demerits, by his actions and sufferings, by his methods and means, he became a model and example, and though he never ceased to be looked on with a controversial eye, and though his career unfortunately introduced certain objectionable principles into the Christian propaganda, yet the success of the Christians was due to his genius, his skill and his example. As Chandler says, he was the greatest missionary in India of his century, and impressed upon the Madura mission, certain lasting features. "One was the adaptation of the life of the missionary to that of the people. Another was the appropriation of harmless customs and ceremonies for Christian use. A third was the thorough study of the vernacular with a view to influency of speech and writing, and accurate knowledge of the literature of the people." These are the three-fold bases of the Jesuit Mission.

The organization of the Mission.

The history of South Indian Christianity after the practical retirement of De Nobilis can be traced from two standpoints,—from the standpoint of organisation and from the standpoint of method. As regards organisation, what we have to remember is that, by 1660, Christianity had extended throughout the regions now covered by the five vicariates of Madura, Pondicheri, Coimbatore, Mysore and Madras. A distinct group of priests and fathers worked in each sphere, and carried on the work which the great Jesuit priest had planned and begun. Each father had the oversight of a certain extent of territory called a Residence. Between Trichinopoly and Mysore there were the two Residences, of Pasur[52] in the north and Satyamangalam in the West. "Tanjore was of course an important Residence. To the North of it lay the Residence of Kallayi, "a village[53] 20 miles South West of Ginji and nearly 100 miles North of Tanjore." Between Tanjore and Madura there was the Residence of Nandavanam, an area of 60 miles east and west, and 12 miles

[52] It extended 87 miles in one direction and 126 in another. Satyamangalam was 25 miles either way, and included 130 villages with 23 churches. Owing to frequent invasions of the Mysoreans these Residences declined between 1660 to 1670.

[53] This included Vellore and Trinomali. See *S. Arcot Manual*, 389-90. The chief Fathers of the mission were Martinz (*d.* 1656); P. Erandi (1670); Andre Freire, (1676) in whose time it was divided into two districts. It was at Tattuvancheri that D. Britto afterwards resided.

broad. The Residences were not permanent. The wars of the age, the quarrels with the Hindu temple authorities, who not unoften owned the Residences, and other difficulties, led to frequent changes. Each Residence was divided into at least two districts. Satyamangalam, for instance, had two, one of which was healthy, and the other, which included Palghat, so unhealthy that sometimes 2,000 or 3,000 people died of diseases in one season. Similarly the Residence of Kallayi contained the two districts of Koranupatti and Tattuvanjeri. Each district was further sub-divided into provinces—Pasur, for instance, into seven (Salem and Omalur among them). The smallest unit was the village. Each village supported its own church, and all the villages of a given area united in the support of the central church.

The Rise of two types of missionaries. The Sanyasins and Pandarams.

With regard to the method, the most important point to be remembered is the establishment of two classes of missionaries. We have already seen how De Nobilis established a mission exclusively among Brahmans and princes and endeavoured to convert them to the religion of Christ, and how he was not quite successful. His scheme of Brahman Christians failed, but his endeavours did not end in nothing. He had at least impressed the superior authorities that, if Christianity was to make a tangible progress in the land, it must be, outwardly at least, an ally and not the enemy of the caste system. The high caste Christians must be kept separate from low caste Christians, for a promiscuous union of both with the consequent annihilation of the country's social system meant the stoppage of Christianity itself. The logical result of this was that the missionaries for Brahmans had to be kept separate from those for the Pariahs. Thus it was that, after De Nobilis' advent, two classes of missionaries were appointed. They might, and indeed did, belong to the same mission, but outwardly they were independent of each other. Those who worked among the Brahmans and the higher classes were called Sanyâsins and the others Paṇḍârams. The Sanyasins had, of course, to live the lives of ascetics. They should employ Brahman servants alone and eat only vegetarian diet. They had necessarily to acquire high linguistic and literary attainments. They could not mix with the Paravans or with the Pandaram missionaries. Sometimes, it is true, the exigencies of service and the opportunities of success made a Sanyasi baptise or work among Paravas; but this had to be done stealthily, during night. The least suspicion of such a circumstance would have resulted in a storm of discontent, a tremendous outburst against the so-called Sanyasin, and the premature collapse of Christian progress among the higher circles. The Pandarams who had non-Brahman servants and worked among the low castes and out castes, also dressed like the Hindus and lived ascetic lives. But the environments in which they worked blackened their name in the eyes of the people, who called them by the contemptuous name of 'Parangis.'

Their different spheres and methods of work.

The Paṇḍârams, as a rule, were Portuguese, while the Sanyâsins belonged to other nationalities. Ever active and industrious, the Paṇḍârams would not live for more than two months in a place, but would travel on foot in the burning heat, and without shelter at night. They indeed commanded less regard than the Sanyâsins from the people and

their conversions also were less numerous. Yet they had greater advantages and, as servants of God, they were ideal men. Foreigners in birth, language and race, these missionaries identified themselves with the depressed classes of a coloured race, and worked day and night, amidst a hundred difficulties, for their betterment and their elevation, It should be remembered that the ordinary conditions of Indian life, poor as they were, must have been hard for them. Coming from cold and temperate regions, belonging as a rule to aristocratic families, they worked in India under circumstances which, though common in Indian eyes, were to them extremely adverse and incongenial. Many of them could not bear the withering climate and the burning atmosphere. Most of them had to live in thatched huts not fit for men, in mere cabins of earth, which had no windows, and which were so narrow and denlike that there was no space even for free movement. Ants and serpents, scorpions and worms, rats which nimbled their feet, and bats "which carried away the wick of your lamp even when lighted,"—were their companions. Their bed was on the bare ground or a plain mat, a tiger skin or a plank. Their food consisted of a handful of rice cooked in water, "seasoned with a decoction of pepper, sometimes with bitter herbs," vegetables, milk and ghee. The Pandarams took meat by stealth, and fish openly, but the Sanyasins had to refrain from both. Their journeys which were very frequent on account of patients and confessions, were dangerous owing to the pest of robbers at night, and the difficulty of walking on sands, "that burn like coals" during the day. In the rainy season, when canals and rivers became torrents and when the mud of the road was mixed with thorns and pebbles, walking was a hard business, swimming a matter of necessity, and utensils consequently a great burden. To add to these, there were the dangers of wild beasts owing to the abundance of forests in those days. But physical difficulties were not the only difficulties. There was, to add to them, the difficulty of persecution and popular scorn. "The people," says De Costa in a language of bitted discontent, "are the vilest race one can imagine. The Government is only tyranny, and there is nothing but disorder and confusion." Even when these difficulties were overcome, and men were brought into the pale of Christianity, there was no permanent satisfaction as there was no permanent security of the new proselytes from backsliding The banishment and torture of Christians had a deterrent effect, and the work of months was often at one stroke, undone in a moment. In 1643 for instance, on the occasion of De Costa's visit to Satyamangalam, a hundred high caste Christians in a body went back to their old religion.

Such were the arrangements made for coping with the increased task of proselytism on the retirement of De Nobilis from Madura, and such were the difficulties which the missionaries had to surmount. But the missionaries were not the men to be daunted by obstacles or discouraged by adverse causes. Both the Sanyasins and Pandarams were men of high mental calibre and wondrous bodily energy, and carried on their work with such firmness of purpose that it was crowned with not a little success. At Trichinopoly, Tanjore, Madura, Satyamangalam and every important Christian centre, the heroic labours of a Martin and an Alvarez, a De Costa and a Proenza, performed wonders. A few events in each of these important centres of Christianity, may be recorded before we pass on to the circumstances of Tirumal Nâik's death.

The Career of Martinz, De Nobilis' successor.

We have already been that De Nobilis and his companions represented the Sanyasins in Madura. From the time of his retirement about 1645, there were regularly at Madura "a Brahman father and two Pandaram fathers, besides a father in the church of the Paravans." The most important of these, indeed, the head of the whole Madura Mission after De Nobilis, was the celebrated father Martinz. This illustrious missionary had commenced his career of glory as early as 1625. For a space of 25 years he devoted himself, in the North-western parts of the kingdom, to the work of proselytism, and in 1650 succeeded De Nobilis as the Superior at Madura. Far greater as a man and as a saint than De Nobilis, Martinz succeeded in captivating the hearts of men. His predecessor had excited their admiration, had appealed to their thought, Martinz appealed to their heart. The one attached importance to knowledge, the other to the sentiment; and as both are necessary to successful proselytism, Martinz can be declared to be the logical supplement of De Nobilis. He was as capable of an ascetic life as the other. He had, in fact, greater sincerity, greater humility in his long career of 20 years; he went to prison about half a dozen times, was tortured on more occasions. Never was he free from the persecutions of the Brahmans, the Yogins and the Pandarams; but never did this valiant man of God complain or condemn. Oppressed and tortured, he fought for the soul of his opponents. Condemned and scorned by men, he laboured for them. No better example have we in the world's history of such endurance of tyranny for the sake of what is considered to be truth. Once, in July 1640, while he was about to baptise a Brahman of Madura, he was arrested by the brother-in-law and first favourite of Tirumala Nâik, and sworn enemy of the Christians, beaten, and then dropped into the Kaveri. It was after this that he underwent imprisonment. Once he took refuge in the Gingee country and established a branch of the mission there. "Once in Satyamangalam he received so many blows that his swollen and livid face was unrecognisable." He was also thrice exiled with ignominy, twice from Trichinopoly. On one of these occasions, he was driven out with a necklace of leaves and pebbles, when even children were cruel to him and made blood flow. Once he was nearly burned to death in his presbytery by Yogis. In this manner lived and died the great man in August 1656. He was then 63 years old, and had served his society for 31 years. Like De Nobilis he was a great scholar and left many Tamil writings. As Chandler says, "De Nobilis had planted and Martinz watered. As between the two, the Christians respected and venerated De Nobilis; they had confidence and love for Martinz."

The Trichinopoly Fathers, De Costa and Alvarez.

At Trichinopoly and its neighbourhood, affairs were hardly better. Here the two fathers, who most distinguished themselves, were De Costa, the father of the Pandaram missionaries, and Alvarez a native of Negapatam. Born of rich and honourable parents Alvarez underwent a religious education in Jaffnapatam, and joined the Society of Jesus in 1630. A true servant of God in every respect, he was particularly noted for the work of charity to which he consecrated himself. The Jesuit letters record how, in his charitable missions, he was frequently put to financial pressure, from which he was, it is said, relieved by God himself, who, in return for his prayer, showered gold on him! Both these

laboured chiefly among the Pariahs. They indeed brought converts from the Chetty, the Vaduga and other communities, but they were primarily the uplifters of the depressed classes. They did not only give them the consolations of their religion, but also bettered their worldly position. They saved them from death by starvation. In a terrible famine, for instance, which broke out in Trichinopoly in 1646 and 1647 and which swept away thousands of people, Alvaroz "treated patients who came from great distances, sometimes 24 miles." Such acts of humanity and sympathy could not but bring their recompense. Many men of position deserted their religion and joined the new one, and bequeathed their fortunes to it, and Alvarez utilized these in building two churches for high castes, in Trichinopoly, and in the vicinity of the great stronghold of Hinduism.—Srirangam. The erection of the latter church caused a great alarm among the Hindus. A number of soldiers seized the missionary and brought him before the Trichinopoly governor, who ordered him and his followers to be kept in irons till a heavy ransom was paid; and they were liberated only when it was clear that they were too poor to pay. The governor, however, was so indignant that he sent Alvarez out of his territory, and seized his property. But De Costa who had been all this time working at Tanjore, proceeded to Madura to appeal to the Nâik in person, and in an interview which he got after 15 days' waiting, obtained the Nâik's order for the restoration of everything to the Christians.

SECTION VIII.

The death of Tirumal Nâik.

Tirumal Nâik died, if we are to believe tradition, a violent death. It is said, that in the later days of his life, he displayed such undue sentiment of reverence towards Christians that a feeling grew that the king's partiality to Christianity might end in his ultimately professing it; and many a desperate man prepared himself to avert the catastrophe. A party of conspirators, headed by the temple priest, Kula Śêkhara Bhaṭṭa, resolved to murder the monarch, justifying their outrage as a necessary sacrifice at the altar of their gods. A dark vault under the pagoda of Mînâkshi, in the most interior part of it, was selected for the scene of the crime. The traitors then enticed Tirumal into the fatal chamber by reporting that the goddess preserved there a secret treasure, and had intimated to them in a vision that it could be discovered by the king alone in person. The greedy credulity of Tirumal Nâik did not suspect the designs of his advisers, and he therefore found himself helpless in the dungeon, where the cruelty of his enemies left him to the slow death by starvation. The inquiries of the surprised, but superstitious, populace were satisfied and silenced by the authoritative statement of the temple priest that the king, while engaged in the worship of his goddess, was absorbed by her into her personality, in recognition of his immense devotion and magnificient liberality in the cause of religion. To a people steeped in superstition and not unacquainted with miracles, the report of the priest could hardly have seemed wanting in veracity. It seemed but natural to them that a prince, so devoted, so pious, and so charitable, should receive a special mark of divine favour, and get an easy and miraculous entry into heaven. It was, in their view, virtue reaping its reward, and labour its fit return.

There is however another version as to the manner of Tirumal Nâik's death. It ascribes his alleged tragic end, not to religious policy or sceptical tendency, but to a vile and injudicious love adventure. It is said that the king was in terms of guilty intimacy with the wife of a priest, and on one occasion, while he was returning in the dark from his stolen visit, he fell into a well in the garden. The priest, in his desire to save his reputation, resolved on the crime of murder. He promptly filled the well with mud and matter, and crushed the monarch to death.

The discussion of Stones of his death.

These and similar stories are believed by some to show that Tirumal Nâik did not perhaps die in his bed; but the conflicting versions make a definite pronouncement as to the real manner of his death impossible. The story that he was a martyr to Christianity, and a victim of priestly villainy, is hardly credible. If it had been a fact, the hawkish eyes of the Jesuit missionaries, ready to find fault where there was none and to magnify a mole into a mountain, would hardly have overlooked it. They would in that case, not only condemn the priesthood before the tribunal of public opinion, but would have written to their masters in Europe, dwelling on the danger which even powerful kings of the stamp of Tirumal Nâik had to meet, in case they entertained ideas of heresy and apostacy. On the other hand, the Jesuit letters of the day clearly state that Tirumal died as he had lived,—" an impenitent sinner." Tirumal Nâik was, it is true, a friend of the Christians, but this was not because of his preference to Christianity, but because of that enlightened policy of religious toleration which he inherited from his ancestors. Himself a bigoted Saiva, he never believed that a regard for one's own beliefs was genuine only if accompanied by active injury to those who held different beliefs. His superiority to religious prejudice is evidenced by his friendly attitude to the Muhammadans as much as to the Christians. The latter were, it is true, not only permitted to enjoy the free exercise of their religion, but encouraged in their proselytising work. When Robert De Nobilis converted many of the turbulent Kallas from barbarism to Christianity and predatory life to honest livelihood, Tirumal appreciated the work and gave large areas of land to the converts for cultivation. Nevertheless, in spite of such liberality, we can positively assert that Tirumal had no Christian tendencies whatever. His death came eight years after the departure of Robert de Nobilis from Madura, and where a Nobilis had failed to persuade, others could scarcely have succeeded. The theory of priestly villainy and Christian martyrdom is thus a pure myth, not history; a creation of the imagination, not a substantial fact. It is based on a wrong notion of the fundamental basis of Hindu polity. The beliefs, interests, institutions, advisors, subjects, and queens of Tirumal Nâik, in fact, everybody and everything around him would have been a standing obstacle to his conversion. To give up his religion would be, for a Hindu king, to give up his crown,—so inalienable was, as it still is, the bond between royalty and religion, between the State and the Church.

(To be continued.)

NOTES AND QUERIES.

CORRUPTIONS OF ENGLISH IN THE INDIAN VERNACULARS.

"HAḌELHAPPI" is commonly used in Marâthi Newspapers to convey the idea of smartness. This puzzling expression is a derivative from *haḍel hap*, the Marâthi soldiers corruption of "shoulder arms," copied from the methods of pronunciation adopted by British non-commissioned officers.

H. WILBERFORCE-BELL.

THE DRAVIDIAN ELEMENT IN PRAKRIT.[1]

BY K. AMRITA ROW, M. A.; MADRAS.

DR. CALDWELL, while discussing in his *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages* (*vide* p. 56. III Ed.) the question of the Dravidian Element in the vernacular languages of Northern India, says " If the non-Sanskritic element contained in the Northern vocabularies had been Dravidian, we might also expect to find in their vocabularies a few primary Dravidian roots, such as the words for head, foot, eye, etc., but I have not been able to discover any reliable analogy in words belonging to this class." He further says " though the matter has been very much discussed in Muir's *Sanskrit Texts* Vol. II and in Beames's *Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India*, few, if any, traces of *distinctively* Dravidian elements are discernible in the North Indian Vernaculars. "

Beames, on the other hand, in his *Comparative Grammar* (pp. 9-10 *3) says " the Aryans were in possession of a copious language before they came into India; they would therefore not be likely to borrow words of an ordinary, usual description, such as names for their clothing, weapons and utensils, or for their cattle and tools, or for the parts of their bodies, or for the various relations in which they stood to each other. The words they would be likely to borrow would be names for the new plants, animals, and natural objects which they had not seen in their former abodes, and even this necessity would be reduced by the tendency inherent in all races to invent descriptive names for new objects."

With regard to the non-Sanskritic element in the Northern Languages, the theory of Mr. Beames seems to me to be more accurate than that of Dr. Caldwell. I cannot understand why Dr. Caldwell should expect to find in the Northern vocabularies a few Dravidian roots, such as those for head, foot, eye, etc. The occurrence of such words would depend upon the degree of contact between the Aryans and the Dravidians. At the present time, we find in South Canara people speaking Konkaṇi, an Aryan dialect, and living amidst people speaking the Dravidian languages, Canarese and Tulu. Though they have been living there for a very long time, the only foreign words which are now to be found in the Konkaṇi vocabulary are words of the type mentioned by Mr. Beames. But the Dravidian words borrowed by the Prâkṛits, which will be given below, tell a different tale. We find that the Aryans speaking the Prâkṛits have borrowed from the Dravidians even words for the various relations in which the Aryans stood to each other, besides words for parts of the body. Though they had several words of their own for the various animals, they borrowed words for them from the Dravidians. Thus, we find 4 words for parrot, *kîrô* (Dr), *kaṇaillô*, *kuntô*, *vâyâḍô*; five words for pig, *kiraḥ* (Dr), *kiḍî* (Dr), *bhuṇḍô*, *thûlaghônô*, *bhuṇḍîrô*; six words for tiger, *pakkasâuaô*, *karaḍô*, *arialli*, *rattacchô*, *pulli* (Dr), *khacchollô*; four words for snake, *kikkiṇḍi*, *sarâhaô*, *payalâô*, *pâvô* (Dr). It is unnecessary to multiply instances.

With regard to *dêśî* words in Prâkṛit, the only source of information we have at our command is Hemachandra's *Dêśînâmamâlâ*. Though Hemachandra himself mentions the names of other authors such as Pâdaliptâchârya, Gôpâla, Dêvarâja, etc., the works of these authors have not come down to us.

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1 *Abbreviations*: P. Prakrit; S. Sanskrit; Dr. Dravidian; Pers. Persian; Pehl. Pehlavi.

Hemachandra says, in the introductory verses of his *Dêśînâmamâlâ*, that in his work will be given such words as are not explained in his Grammar, are not to be found in lexicons and do not owe their origin to the power called *guṇîlakshaṇâ* (*i. e.*, which are not used in a metaphorical sense). He further says that numerous forms have been used in the various provincial dialects, and that the term *dêśi* has been used to denote only those words which have been used from times immemorial in Prâkṛit. While several provincialisms given in *Dêśînâmamâlâ* can be traced back to Dravidian origin, some go back to Persian. *Cf.* P. *angutthalam*, 'ring,' Pers. *angushtarî*, Pehl. *angust*, Zend. *angusta*. For the change of *st* to *th*, *cf.* S. *hasta*, 'hand,' P. *hattha*. 2. P. *dattharô*, 'handkerchief,' Pers. *dastâr*, 'a napkin, towel.' (For change of medial *â* to *a cff.* S. *prastâva*, P. *patthava*) 3. P. *bandhô*, 'a servant.' New Pers. *bandah*, 'a servant,' Pehl. *bandak*, Old Pers. *banda ka*. 4. P. *parakkam*. 'a river,' Pers. *parak*, 'name of a river.' For the use of proper nouns as common *cp.* P. *goṇḍam*, 'a forest,' P. *gaṇḍiram*, 'a bow.' Punjâbi *g-anesh* 'a due' paid to Hindu shrine. 5 P. *bokkaḍô*, 'a goat,' is evidently the Prâkṛit form of S. *varkara*, 'young animal,' which is evidently to be traced back through Persian to Arabic *baqar* 'ox, bull,' Hebrew, *baqar*, 'young animal.' (For change of medial *a* to *o cf.* S. *padma*, 'lotus,' P. *pommo*, and for change of *r* to *d cf.* S. *bhêra*. P. *bhêḍa*.) 6. P. *jayaṇa*, 'saddle,' *cf.* Pers. *zîn*, Pehl. *zin*, Zend, *zaini*.

We learn from Mr. Vincent A. Smith's *Early History of India* that the Pahlavas settled in Western India as the lords of a conquered native population about the second century, A. D. and that the author of the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea, (5 century A. D.) found the valley of the Lower Indus under the rule of the Parthian chiefs. After the battle of Nahavend in 641 A. D. in which the last Persian dynasty was overthrown by the Arabs, a large number of Zoroastrians from Persia came and settled in India. Muhammad Ḳâsim, a great general was deputed by the Caliph of Baghdad to conquer India about 711 A. D., and the Arabs ruled in India until they were turned out of Sind by the Rajputs. During the time of Muhammad of Ghazni (A. D. 997-1030), famous in Indian History for his twelve expeditions, one of his *vazîrs*, being more a man of business than learning, introduced the practice of writing all public papers in Persian. Elphinstone in his *History of India* says that it is owing to this circumstance that although India was never directly conquered by Persia, the language of business and of writing in general, is all taken from the latter country. Hence we need not be surprised if we should find Persian words in Prâkṛit, since we find Persian and Arabic words in the Dravidian languages, on account of Muhammadan rule in Southern India. Hemachandra, is therefore perfectly justified in supposing that provincialisms borrowed from Persian have been in use 'from times immemorial'.

The following are a few of the *dêśî* words in Hemachandra's *Dêśînâmamâlâ*, of which I attempt to give the Dravidian affinities. In deciding whether a word is Dravidian or not I have followed in general the same principles as those followed by Dr. Kittel and Dr. Caldwell (*vide* Dr. Kittel's *Kannada-English Dictionary*, Preface p. XIV—XVI).

Nouns of Relationship. Of the seven nouns of relationship borrowed by the Prâkṛits five are distinctly Dravidian. 1. P. *appô*, 'father' is found in almost all the Dravidian dialects. 2. P. *ammâ*, *avvâ*, 'mother.' *Amma* is found in all the Dravidian dialects except Tuḷu. In Canarese *avva*, *avve*, means 'a mother or grandmother.' In Telugu *avva* means 'a grandmother.' 3. P. *akkâ*, 'sister,' in Sanskṛit, 'mother.' In the Dravidian dialects *akka* means 'sister,' as in Prâkṛit. 4. P. *attâ*, 'father's sister.' *cf.* Dr. '*atta* father's sister.' 5. P. *mâmî*, 'mother-in-law.' *cf.* Dr. *mâmi* 'mother in law.' 6. P. *bhâvô*, 'elder

sister's husband.' *cf.* Can. *bhâva*, S. *bhâma*. 7. P. *vahuṇî*, 'elder brother's wife.' This is probably derived from the Sanskritised form, *vadhunî*, *cf.* Tel. *vadine*. (For the change of medial *i* to *u* *cf.* Tam. *maśir*, 'hair,' P. *mâsurî*.

Parts of the body:—1. P. *bondî* 'form, face, body.' *cf.* Tam. Tel. *bondi*. 2. P. *poṭṭam*, 'belly.' *cf.* Tel. *poṭṭa.*, Can. *poṭṭe*. 3. P. *khaḍḍam*, 'beard' *cf.* Tel. *gaḍḍamu*' Can. *gaḍḍa*, Tam. *kaṭṭai*. 4. P. *mâsurî*, 'beard' *cf.* Tam. *maśir*. For change of medial *i* to *u*. *cf.* Tel. *vadine*, P. *vahuṇî*. 5. P. *puṇḍhô*, 'hollow, hollow of the loins.' *cf.* Tam. *puṇḍai* 'female organ of generation.' 6. P. *maḍô*, 'neck,' *cf.* Tel. *meḍa*. (for change of medial *e* to *a* *cf.* Tel. *reḍḍi*, P. *raddhî*: see below). 7. P. *kandala*, 'cheek.' *cf.* Can. Tel. Tam. *kanna* (*vide* Kittel's *Kannada-English Dictionary*, (Pref.) p. 17.)

Personal nouns. 1. P. *raddhî*, 'Chief, head' *cf.* Can. Tel. *reḍḍi*, 'the title of agriculturists.' 2. P. *seṭṭhî* (S. *śrêṣṭhin*) 'the headman of a village.' *cf.* Can., Tel. *ceṭṭi.*, Tuḷu. *seṭṭi*. 3. P. *talârô*, 'a village watchman.' Dr. Pischel derives it from *talavâra*, *talavâraṇam*, 'glove of an archer' (*cf.* S. *skandhavâra*, P. *khandhâra*. *cf.* Tam. *taleyâri* (from *taleyâyi iru* 'to be at the head.'), Tel. *talâri*, Can. *taleyâri*. 4. P. *pôô*, 'boy' (S. *pôta*, 'young one of an animal'). *cf.* Can. *pôtu*, 'a he-goat.' Tel. *pôtu*, 'young one of an animal'. 5. P. *paḍiajjha* (*paḍi ajjha*). For *paḍi* *cf.* Tel. *baḍi*, 'a school.' (For change of *b* to *p*. *cf.* Tel. *balli*, Skt. *palli*, 'a lizard'). 6. P. *paḍujuvaî*, (*paḍuju vaî* fem. term. corr. to S. *vatî*), 'a young girl.' *cf.* Tel. *paḍuśu*, a young girl. (For change of *c* to *j* *cf.* S. *piśâcî*, P. *pisâjî*). 7. P. *sûlâ*, 'a courtezan,' *cf.* Can. *sûḷe*. 8. P. *illô*, *ellô*, 'a poor man,' *cf.* Tam. *illân*, 'a poor man, Tam. *illai*, Can. *illa*, 'there is not.' 8. P. *kurulô*, 'a man with curly hair.' *cf.* Tel. *kurulu*, Can. *kuruḷ*, Tam. *suruḷ*, 'to twist, curl.' 9. P. *kuruḍô*, 'unkind, clever man.' *cf.* Tam. *kuruḍan*. Can. *kuruḍa*, 'blind man.' (change of meaning can be easily explained). 10. P. *maṭṭhô*, 'lazy man.' *cf.* Can., Tel. *maḍḍi*, 'stupid, dull, awkward person.'

Names of Animals. 1. P. *pullî*, 'tiger.' *cf.* Dr. *puli*. 2. P. *pâvô*, 'snake.' *cf.* Can. *pâvu*, Tel. *pâmu*, Tam. *pâmbu*. 3. P. *karaḍô*, 'tiger.' *cf.* Tam., Can. *karaḍi*, 'a bear.' 4. P. *mangusô muggasô*, 'ichneumon.' *cf.* Tel. *mungisa*, Can. *mungisi*. 5. P. *kîra*, 'a parrot.' *cf.* Can. *kiṛu*, 'to cry,' Dr. *kiḷi*. 6. P. *kiraḥ*, *kiḍî*, 'a pig.' *cf.* Dr. *kiṛu*, 'to scrape, scratch.'

Miscellaneous. 1. P. *ciccî*, 'fire.' *cf.* Tel. *cičču*, Can. *kiccu*. 2. P. *ṇêsarô*, 'sun,' *cf.* Can. *nêsaṛ*, Tam. *ñâyir*. 3. P. *jhaḍi*, 'torrent of rain.' *cf.* Tel. *jaḍi*, Can. *jaḍi* 4. P. *addâô*, 'looking glass.' *cf.* Tel. *addamu*. 5. P. *pasiṇḍi*, 'gold.' *cf.* Tel. *pasiḍi*. 6. P. *vairam*, diamond, Tam. *vairam* 7. P. *peṇḍam*, 'anklet.' *cf.* Tel. *peṇḍaramu*, 'an anklet.' 8. P. *châṇa*, *châṇî*, 'cow-dung.' In the sense of cloth, P. *châṇa* Skt. *châdana*. In the sense of cow-dung from S. *chagaṇa* (Can. *sagani*), *cf.* Tam. *śâṇi*. 9. P. *ûrô*, 'village.' *Cf.* Tel. *ûru*, Tam. *ûr*, Heb. *âr*, 'a city,' Assyrian, *uru*. 10. P. *mâḍiam*, 'a house.' *cf.* Tam. *mâḍam*, 'a house.' 11. P. *ummarô*, 'threshold.' *cf.* T. *ummârapaḍi*. 12. P. *kassô*, *kachcharô*, 'mud.' *cf.* Tel. *kasavu*, Can. *kasa*, *kasavu*, *kasara*, 'rubbish.' (For change of *s* to *ch*, *cf.* S. *sirâ* 'vein,' P. *chihrâ*). 13. P. *jheṇḍua*, 'ball.' *cf.* Can. *ceṇḍu*. 14. P. *moggara*, 'a bud' is evidently derived from Tel. *mogaḍa*, a bud. (For change of *ḍ* to *r*, *cf.* S. *shôḍaśa*, P. *sôraha*). The doubling of medial g is due to confusion with Tel. *mogga*. *cf.* Can. *mogge*, *moggu*, 'a bud' Tam. *moggu*. 15. P. *u id*, 'black gram.' *Cf.* Tam. *uḷundu*, Can. *uddu*. (for change of medial *u* to *i* *cf.* S. *puruṣa*, P. *pulisa*.) 16. P. *tuppô*, 'a leathern bottle for oil. *cf.* Can. and Tam. *tuppa*. 17. P. *kalla* toddy, *cf.* Tel. *kaḷḷu*, Can. *kaḷḷu*, Tam. *kaḷ*. 18. P. *kâram*, pungent, through P. *khâram* from S. *kṣâra*. The deaspirization of initial is probably due to Dravidian influence, *cf.* Dr. *kâra*. 19. P. *muddî*. 'kissing. *Cf.* Dr. *muddu*. 20.

P. *aṭṭaï*, boils : *cf.* Dr. *aḍ*, to cook, past part. *aṭṭa*. 21. P. *ghuṭṭaï* 'drinks.' *cf.* Tel. *guṭu* (*ku*) 'a gulp,' Brahui *guṭ*, 'throat.' 22. P. *rampaï*, *ramphaï*, 'cuts.' *cf.* *Tel. rampamu*, 'a saw.' 23. P. *kâvî* 'blue colour.' *Cf.* Dr. *kâvi*, 'red ochre.'

Since the above words are considered by Hemachandra to be provincialisms which were in use from times immemorial, we may say that those words were borrowed long before his time. It is not, however, possible to say at what periods the different words were borrowed, as the materials I have collected till now are too scanty. Of course, there can be no doubt that the Aryans at one time lived in very close contact and freely mixed with the Dravidians, as is evident from the words mentioned above. This intermingling of people speaking Dravidian and Aryan vernaculars has occurred even in more recent times. Several Dravidian families have gone and settled permanently in Benares, the Bombay Presidency and even Kashmir, and intermarried with people speaking the Aryan vernaculars. We may therefore, expect to find a few Dravidian words in the languages of Northern India on account of this immigration. It may, after all, be that the Dravidian languages spoken by these people have not had any effect upon the Aryan vernaculars, just as the Marâṭhâ language spoken in Tanjore and other parts of Southern India by settlers from the Marâṭhâ country and the Gujarâti (Paṭnûli dialect and that by the Mârwârîs) have had no influence on the Dravidian languages.

THE HISTORY OF THE NAIK KINGDOM OF MADURA

BY V. RANGACHARI, M.A., L.T., MADRAS.

(*Continued from p.* 28.)

If the theory of apostacy and murder is incredible, that of love intrigue is equally so. To believe that a king who had, in his harem, more than 200 wives,[54] the picked beauties of his kingdom, and who was already far in the decline of life, being more than 65 years old at the time of the alleged intrigue, was engaged in it, and underwent a vile and miserable death in the backyard of a poor man's house, alone and in the dark, demands an absurd amount of credulity as well as the sacrifice of commonsense. All that we can say is, that Tirumal Nâik must have died such a sudden death as to give rise to surprise and suspicion on the part of the populace and the concoction of plausible theories on the part of his servants. The early life of the Nâik ruler had not been adorned by temperance, and a sudden indisposition probably proved fatal.

NOTE.

Wheeler (*History* Vol. IV. Part II, pp. 576-581) gives some curious information concerning Tirumal Nâik. He says that Tirumal Nâik came to the throne on Feb. 9, 1626. The very next day after his coronation, Tirumal received the Tanjore ambassador and agreed to give Vallam in exchange for Trichinopoly,[55] if Vijaya Ranganâtha would give his sister Pârvatî to him in marriage. Wheeler then gives a description of the royal marriage, which was exactly the same as that at the present day. Three days after this marriage, Aryanâtha died.[56] His funeral was performed with great splendour, and the

54 The Jesuit letters say that he had 200 wives and the most distinguished of these committed *sati* on his death. See *Madura Gazr.*, p. 48.

55 This is absurd; for we have already seen that Vallam was exchanged for Trichinopoly in the time of the first Viśvanâtha.

56 This is also absurd. Aryanâtha really died in 1600, 23 years before Tirumal's accession.

ministerial ring was given by the Nâik to his favourite, Vidiappa, and the ring of the commander-in-chief to his other favourite, Râmappaiya. Wheeler points out that the Nâik's army numbered 4,000 horsemen and 60,000 footmen under 72 polygars. The cavalry was placed outside the fort, and the infantry on the 72 ramparts. The annual revenue of the State was 44 lakhs of *chakrams*, *i. e.*, 88 lakhs of rupees. About one tenth of these went to Brahmans, £ 60,000 for servants' salaries, £ 40,000 for charities and palace expenses, £ 20,000 for the Nâik's daily charities, and the remaining £ 680,000 were stored up in the treasury, thereby giving much scope for Mussalman plunder; or to speak in terms of *chakrams*, 4 lakhs for Brahmans and their temples, 3 lakhs for salaries of servants, one lakh for daily charities, and the remaining 34 were hoarded up. Wheeler then goes on to state that Tirumal married the daughters of his uncles, who had been passed over for the sake of the Tanjore princess. For his war with the Sêtupati, his numerous marriages, etc., see *ante*. Wheeler concludes by pointing out that Tirumal was adored as a God by his subjects. He never refused a boon. No suppliant ever left his presence with discontent in his face. His troops were well disciplined, his generals brave and experienced, and himself so fortunate that he gained as many victories as he fought battles.

CHAPTER VII.

The Advent of the Marathas.

SECTION I.

Muttu Ala-kadri 1659.

The death of Tirumal Nâik was the sign of internal factions and disputed succession. Immediately after the performance of the funeral of the great king, his son Muttu Aḷakâdri, or Muttu Vîrappa[57] as he was also called, was elevated to the throne by a council of the lords, courtiers and the ministers. The succession of the new monarch, however, was disputed by the able Kumâra Muttu, the younger brother of the late king, who was, as we have already seen, engaged in his victorious campaign in Mysore at the time of his brother's death. Immediately after he received the intelligence of his nephew's election, he abandoned the contest with Mysore and returned at the head of his exultant army to win the crown by the sword. Kumâra Muttu had the strong support of his army, but Vîrappa had the command of the treasury and the support of the most influential grandees of the court. The war between the rival claimants, it appeared therefore, would be prolonged and obstinate; but at this stage the timidity or self-sacrifice of Kumâra Muttu saved the kingdom from the evils and hardships of a civil war. In return for the independent rule of Śivakâśi and the surrounding districts, he gave up his claim to the throne of his ancestors. The reasons which led to this extraordinary act are uncertain. The author of the *Madura District Manual* believes that it was probably due to the prudence of Kumâra Muttu or to the unwillingness

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[57] The divergency of opinion among the chronicles in regard to Vîrappa's date is very great. According to the *Pand. Chron.*, which is perhaps the right authority, he ruled only three months from the Paṅguni of Viḷambi (1659 A.D.) to the Vaikâśi of Vikâri. The *Hist. of the Carnat. Kings* and *Supp. MS.* and the Telugu record of the *Carnat. Dynas.* on the other hand, attribute to him 10 years from Subhakṛit to Virôdhikrit (S 1484-1494, *i.e.*,) 1562-1572 A.D. One of the Mirtanjiya MSS. (*O. H. MSS.* II. 119) says that he assumed office on the 5th Mâśi, Viḷambi (S. 1580) and ruled till the end of Vykâśi in Vikâri, *i. e.*, 4 months.

of his wearied army to fight with his formidable opponents. The theory of strong Court opposition seems to have much truth in it, for we are told that even Rangaṇṇa Nâik,[58] so just in his behaviour and so loyal in his conduct, was for Muttu Vîrappa, and went on an embassy from him to his rival, then encamped in the village of Dharmavaraṁ, to dissuade him from war, and from the Madura throne in return for the sovereignty over the district of Śivakâśi. Either policy or fear then prompted Kumâra to support with resignation the loss of his crown and accept a province in preference to a more extensive but doubtful kingdom. Before he surrendered his right and his army, however, he took care that his son Kumâra Raṅgappa Ńâik was installed and anointed as the second in power, so that the claim of his line to the crown might not die with him. At Śivakâśi he distinguished himself by his salutary works. He built the town, erected a large temple, which he dedicated to a *lingam* he had brought from Nanjanakuḍi, established a number of companion images ordered embroidered vestments for their adornment, constructed a car, and arranged for regular festivals. He is further said to have excavated many reservoirs and established many *agrahârams.* He ruled there for some time and died. (*Record of the Carna. Govrs., O. H. MSS.* II, p. 184.)

As for the new king, he seems to have been not wanting in capacity and character. A Telugu chronicle indeed eulogises him as a ruler of splendour and equity, a builder of temples and villages, a charitable man and a gallant soldier, and though the eulogy may be a general formula rather than a tribute to truth, yet Muttu Vîrappa seems to have been neither wanting in energy nor in high aims. The great object of his policy was to undo the political vandalism of his father, to remove the Musalman yoke, and to revive the former glory of independence. With this commendable, if unattainable goal, he strengthened the fortifications of Trichinopoly, and proposed to the Nâik of Tanjore the formation of an alliance, both offensive and defensive, against Musalman domination. The proposal of Vîrappa was a wise one, but it received no favourable support from the Tanjore Nâik who feared that it would invite war and bring disaster. After all, he did not gain by this selfish and timid attitude, for, in the opening months of 1659, a Muhammadan army appeared on the scene, and finding itself unable to seize Trichinopoly, owing to the caution of Muttu Vîrappa, turned its arms, with that unscrupulousness which blinded it from friends and foes alike, against Tanjore. The latter was not unprepared to sustain a siege. It was defended by an almost impregnable fortress, a fine equipment of artillery and a considerable collection of provisions; but all these sources of strength and means of success could be of no avail where cowardice and treason reigned supreme. The Tanjore general was a coward, and a slight wound was enough to make him lose heart and give up the defence and flee, with his master, to the neighbouring fortress of Vallam. The result was the Muhammadan army was able to take possession of the city and then reduce the rest of the kingdom. Nothing remained to complete the disintegration of the kingdom but the capture of Vallam, and the king and the victorious Islamites now proceeded to that task. The fortress of Vallam was one of the strongest and most strategic in the country. Its defence hardly required much military skill, and the Tanjore king had no reason to fear

[58] See Taylor's *O. H. MSS.* II, p. 177 (The history by Raṅgaṇṇa Nâik.) Raṅgaṇṇa ruled his *pâḷayam* for 50 years.

disaster so long as he had the necessary men and provisions; but he was the slave of fear and the tool of cowards. He therefore abandoned the defence of the place and left for the neighbouring woods, where pursuit was difficult and life was safe.

The conquest of Tanjore was immediately followed by the invasion of Madura; and the whole country from the banks of Kâveri to the latitude of Madura became subject to the depredations of the Musalmans. The unfortunate people once again had to experience the hardships of war, while their king was secure in his luxurious palace at Trichinopoly. As usual, the Musalman in victory did not display moderation or wisdom. It seemed to be more a crusade against civilization in general than the conquest of a kingdom. The avarice of the soldiers seized every opportunity of plunder and their brutality every chance of oppression. Never did Madura or Tanjore experience, in all their gloomy careers, a calamity so dire and so disastrous as on this occasion; but never at the same time did Providence mete out a punishment to the authors of the misery so rapid and so effective as the one on this time. The excesses and atrocities of the victors recoiled on themselves. The horrors of famine overspread the land. Thousands died of hunger, and thousands left the kingdom in search of better, safer and more fortunate climes. Those who survived the famine or resisted the temptation to emigrate fell victims to epidemics. In this combination of ills the Muhammadan army suffered most. Want of food thinned its ranks daily, and desertion became a common-place occurrence. The corpses of starved men and the carcases of dead horses lined the roadside in disorderly mixture and filled the fields. The atmosphere became surcharged with the poison of putrid matter and the stench of decaying bodies. Diseases and pestilence broke out and added their dire work to the activity of famine. The difference between conquerors and conquered disappeared in the common suffering, and both united in cries of misery and prayers of urgency for the help of Providence.

For a few weeks the Muhammadan generals endeavoured to overcome the calamity, but in vain. They found their position absolutely untenable and longed to return to their homes. But before doing so they wished if possible, to intimidate the King of Madura and extort an indemnity from him. With this intention they advanced to Trichinopoly and laid siege to it. They were not successful. In the first place they met with a stout and determined defence from Muttu Vîrappa and his general Liṅgama Nâik, a man of great capacity and greater ambition, of whom we shall hear much in the next reign. Secondly, the horrors of famine and virulence of pestilence followed them, and thirdly, the depredations of the Kaḷḷas, probably the subjects of the Sêtupati, insulted them by harassing and daring attacks upon their camps. The consequence was the Muhammadans entered into negotiations for peace. Vîrappa could, with greater tact, have refused attention to their overtures, and found a means to annihilate them; but he exaggerated their strength and underrated his own, and thought that he was making a good bargain by purchasing their evacuation of the country. His only consolation was that the drain from his coffers was comparatively moderate.

So ended the dream of Muttu Vîrappa to restore the glory of his realm to its former independence. His failure in the war is attributed by some writers on the authority of the Jesuits to his character. From[59] the moment of his accession, they say, he gained the notoriety of a drunkard and a debauchee. Entirely oblivious of the duties of his office,

[59] *E. g.*; Wheeler and Nelson. Taylor takes the view of the Chronicles that he was very probably a wise and peaceable prince and that his reign was not marked by incidents, (*O. H. MSS.* II, p. 184).

he employed his hours in the gratification of the senses, in the exclusive pursuit of pleasure, which told fatally on his constitution. The son of Tirumal Nâik died, according to this view, an inglorious, unhonoured, and unlamented death, after a short but eventful rule of three months. The chronicles, however, do not give this dark picture of the Jesuits.

SECTION II.

Chokkanâtha Nâik 1659-1682.

On the death of Muttu Aḷakâdri, his son Chokkanâtha, a youth of sixteen, came to the throne.[60] The young ruler promised to achieve greatness both in the field and in the *darbâr*. A keen soldier and enterprising adventurer, he had, for the first object of his ambition, the restoration of the independence of Madura.

The character of Chokkanâtha.

His arms were at first attended with success, but in the latter part of his reign, the degeneracy of his own character, the treason of his ministers, and the interference of the Marâthâs and Mysoreans in the State, resulted in the collapse of his policy and the practical extinction of his kingdom. Beginning then under auspicious circumstances, his reign ended, contrary to the sanguine expectations of his people, in misery and gloominess. The impartiality of the historian must declare that the period of his government, in fact, is a more horrible record of domestic plots and foreign invasions, of popular misery and hardships, than any other period of equal duration in Nâik history. More active than wise,

[60] According to the *Pand. Chron.*, the year of his accession was 1660 A. D. (Vikâri Âni). He ruled, it says, for 24 years till 1684 (Dundumi Âni). But the *Supp. MS.* and *Carna. Dynas.* say that he reigned from 1672 (Paritâpi) to 1688 (Prabhava). Wheeler gives him the date 1662-1685. Epigraphical references to Chokkanâtha are somewhat meagre, and they do not illustrate very clearly the period of his rule. They, however, shew that he ruled till at least 1678, the year when the usurpation or elevation of his brother Muttu Aḷakâdri took place. That Chokkanâtha came to the throne in 1659 is clear from an inscription in the Jayantiśvara Temple at Trichinopoly. (Parâbhava, Âni 27, Saturday, Trayôdaśî) wherein Chokkanâtha is said to have settled a dispute between five castes in regard to their paraphernalia. Sewell mentions six of his inscriptions from 1661 to 1667, and one of his brother dated 1678. The first of these is at Nenmêni, five miles east of Ṣâttur (Râmnâd Dt.) on a stone in front of the Ananta-Râja Temple, and records the gift of a tank for Chokkalinga's merit in S. 1583. A similar record, dated S. 1587, is on a stone north of the Perumâḷ temple in the same place. (Sewell's *Antiquities*, I, 305). A copper-plate grant of 1662 (which is in Telugu and which is, Sewell says, in the Trichin. Dt. Court) records a gift of land by Chokkanâtha to a Śrîrangam priest. This plate is also interesting for the fact that it records that Śrî Ranga Râya was then reigning at "Ghanagiri." (*Id.* II, 7). An inscn. of 1663 found at Tiruchchengôḍe (Salem Dt.) says that "Vijaya Ranga Chokkalinga Naiken of Madura built the gopura." It is doubtful whether this refers to Chokkanâtha or any other prince of the royal family. (*Id.* I, 203). A Telugu copper plate of 1665, written in Tamil *grantha* characters, records a gift of land to some Brahmins at Kaniyur, 10 miles S. W. of Uḍumalpet. (*Id.* II, 27). This grant also mentions Śri Ranga Dêva Mahâ Râya, of Chandragiri. A similar copper-plate grant of 1667 mentions a similar grant at Kumâralingam, 10 miles S. E. of Uḍumalpet. This also mentions Chokkanâtha's acknowledging the allegiance of Śri Ranga Râya. In regard to this, Mr. Sewell remarks: "This is the first grant that I have seen where the Telugu language is rendered in *grantha* characters." (*Antiquities*, II, 28). The record of Muttu Lingappa is a copper-plate (Dt. Court, Madura) in Telugu, dated 1678 A. D. (Kâḷayukti). It bestows the village of Kṛishṇâpuram on a Brahman. The grantor is described as "Muddu Alugari Nayudu, grandson of Viśvanatha Nayani Tirumala Nayudu, and son Muddu Virappa Nayudu." He also recognizes the suzerainty of Sri Virapratâpa Sri Ranga Râva Mahadeva Râya (who ca e to the throne, as Sewell says, in 1665). See *Antiquities*, II, 4.

Chokkanâtha always had before him projects of a visionary nature, undertakings, which neither his capacity nor his resource was adequate to meet. He lacked that calmness, that quick understanding of facts, that intellectual nimbleness and resource, which is necessary for a successful politician. To this incapacity he added an extraordinary amount of self-pride, which detected insult where there was none. The result was, he left his kingdom at his death, in a most unhappy and dilapidated condition, a prey to rival powers and contending parties, and a home of bloodshed and anarchy.

His war with the Muhammadans.

The tendency of Chokkanâtha to act on impulse and ignorance is seen in his very first act.[61] Immediately after his assumption of the royal robes, he proclaimed a war with Bîjâpur, with a view to drive that power from its stronghold of Jinji, to restore the Nâiks of that kingdom, and to revive the greatness of the Karnâṭaka *râj*. It is highly probable that, in his precipitate move, Chokkanâtha disregarded the cautious advice of his ministers. At any rate, there is evidence to show that, soon after Daḷavâi Liṅgaṇṇa Nâik proceeded with his 40,000 cavalry to the frontier against Sagosi, the Muhammadan general of Jinji, a plot of a formidable nature, in which the ministers themselves played a prominent part, took place. The origin of the conspiracy lay either in the spirit of independence which the king displayed, or in his youth, which inspired the ambition of unscrupulous men. The leaders of disaffection were the Pradhâni and the Râyasam, the former a Brahman. Under the name of guardians, they deprived the young chief of his power and freedom and banished or imprisoned all those whose loyalty was a source of danger to their power. Nor did they display wisdom in their administration. They exercised authority with the cruelty of tyrants and the greediness of upstarts. Allying themselves with the Daḷavâi Liṅgaṇṇa, a man who, in his ambition and avarice, sold the interests of his country to the Muhammadan and was conducting a sham campaign, they organised a formidable triumvirate with the object of removing Chokkanâtha and raising his younger brother to the throne in his place. The prospect of success was very near at hand, when an accident betrayed the nefarious plot and brought its authors to justice and ruin. The fidelity of a palace lady apprised the young king of the real state of things. He at once entered into secret communications with his friends in exile, and, with their help, eventually contrived to surprise and seize the traitors in the palace. The Râyasam was immediately put to death, but the caste of the more heinous criminal obtained for him the comparatively mild punishment in the loss of his eyes. The other accomplice Liṅgaṇṇa Nâik, however, was still at liberty. With a reckless disregard of his country and creed, he joined hands with those whom he was sent to conquer, and marched against his master. Thus it was that a hostile Muhammadan army, of 12,000 foot and 7,000 horse, commanded by Sagosi and guided by the Nâik general, assembled at the foot of the Trichinopoly fortifications. The place was at once invested and every attempt was made to take it. To the arbitration of the sword was added the temptation of bribery, and the camp of Chokkanâtha once again became a scene of treasonable activity. A kinsman of the old minister, who was in the king's service, took advantage of this opportunity to entertain designs of revenge, and sell his conscience and good name. The ability of the besiegers and the play of treason

61 These details are not found in any of the indigenous chronicles. Mr. Nelson has taken these from Jesuit sources, and my account of the reign is based on his.

in the Nâik camp would have achieved the fall of Trichinopoly, but the vigilance of Chokkanâtha saved him. He discovered the plot, removed the conspirator, and promptly overhauled the ministerial staff. A tide of success seems to have followed this reorganisation. The Muhammadans abandoned their attempt, and retreated to Tanjore, and numbers of their soldiery were attracted by the martial vigour and quick resource of Chokkanâtha to crowd under his standard, and the Madura army swelled from its original strength of 50,000 men to 70,000. Success killed prudence, and Chokkanâtha resolved to try the chance in his fortunes to a logical extremity and pursue his retreating adversaries. His object was now threefold, to drive the Muhammadans in disgrace back to their homes, to chastise the conduct of his Daḷavâi, and to get reparation from Tanjore for its alliance with the enemies of Madura. In the flush of victory, Chokkanâtha was able to accomplish his aims. He inflicted a defeat on Sagosi and compelled him to return to Jinji. He fell on Tanjore and forced the submission of its chief; and he won over the unscrupulous Daḷavâi, not however by conquest, but by matrimony, by raising his daughter to the dignity of his queen.

Curious Portents of disaster.

Such was the formidable treason which threatened Chokkanâtha's crown at the outset of his career, and from which he extricated himself with such pluck and courage. Though not twenty, he had behaved like a hero in the midst of a hurricane of enmity. If his reign began with a domestic trouble, it also began with a triumph over Jinji and Tanjore. Chokkanâtha had therefore every reason to look with self-complacency on his work; but he was not destined to enjoy his satisfaction long. Providence destined him to a career of incessant trouble and grief, of defeat and disaster. Nature itself, we are told, gave warnings of the coming woes and ills to which his State and people were to be subjected. Children were born, we are informed, with complete sets of teeth. Wild animals[62] boldly roamed in plains and invaded cities; thousands of healthy people died sudden and mysterious deaths, while an equal number fell in famines. Swarms of insects darkened and poisoned the air, and epidemics of a ferocious nature raged with violence and swept off thousands. These unnatural events and extraordinary scenes threw the people into a panic of fear and anxiety, and raised forebodings of coming disaster and distress. Nor did it take long to come, though it did not take a shape as unusual as the events which foreshadowed it. It came in the form of another Musalman invasion.

The Muhammadan retaliation.

In the beginning of 1664, the Muhammadans once again burst into South India. It is difficult to say to, what this invasion was due but it can hardly be doubted that it was due to their desire to wipe out the shame of their late humiliation. The invaders this time were led by the commander-in-chief of Bîjâpur, Vanamîân. In his sudden push for the Nâik capital, Vanamîân might have been successfully opposed by the king of Tanjore, but the latter preferred the traditional policy of submission and even assistance. At Trichinopoly, however, the Bîjâpur general met with an opposition far stronger than that he had anticipated. The artillery of Chokkanâtha proved more than equal to the equipment

[62] Proenza says that some time after Tirumal Nâik's death Madura was so much deserted that wild animals boldly came there. Perhaps it refers to this period. The Dutch, it may be mentioned here, took advantage of the popular misery to decoy hundreds of men and women selling them as slaves. That the Portuguese and Dutch dealt largely in slaves is amply proved by Manucci in his *Storia do Mogor.*

of the besiegers, and vanamîân realised that he could not easily capture the city. He therefore resolved to change his strategy, to attack the people and lay waste the kingdom, in short to strike at the king through his people. He therefore abandoned the siege of Trichinopoly, and diverted his forces into the heart of the kingdom. The strength of the Muhammadan soldiers and of Muhammadan fanaticism was let loose on a mild and innocent populace, and there began, in consequence, a period of horrible massacre, rare even in Musalman warfare. The soldiers of Bijapur looked with satisfaction on the burning flames of villages and farm-houses. They seized men and forcibly circumcised them, tossed children on sword points and violated all rules of civilized war. Desperation goaded even cowardice to acts of heroism, and the people of many a village set fire to their homes and preferred death in the general conflagration to capture and torture by the Muhammadan soldiery.

The atrocities of the Muhammadan army, however, had one good effect. They induced the king to endeavour for a conclusion of peace. At first he led a life of indolent security within the fort of his capital, too weak or too indifferent to remove the calamities of his subjects; but the widespread horror of suffering compelled the abandonment of his inaction and the resort to an understanding with the adversaries. He promptly agreed to pay a considerable sum as indemnity for the present and tribute for the future; and the Muhammadans turned their back on the ruined kingdom, encumbered with spoils and enriched with booty of priceless value.

His punitive expeditions against Tanjore and Ramnaḍ.

In the tumultuous condition of South India in the 17th century, the slightest provocation was enough to inflame an internecine war. Chokkanâtha's indignation was roused by the assistance which Tanjore had rendered to the invaders and by the indifference with which Tirumalai Sêtupati[63] had regarded his recent humiliation. He therefore meditated, immediately after the departure of the Muhammadans, an invasion of Tanjore and the chastisement of Râmnâḍ. Himself taking the field in person, he promptly marched to the fortress of Vallam and took it by surprise. Here his conquests stopped. It seems that Chokkanâtha's object was not territorial conquest, but the simple punishment of his brother chief. His expedition was more a punitive demonstration than a serious war. He therefore abandoned the contest after the seizure of Vallam, and marched into Râmnâḍ. He first occupied the Marava forts of Tirupattûr, Pudukkôṭṭa, Mâna Madurai and Kâḷayâr Kôil, and desired to subdue the Sêtupati by a single but effective victory. But it was not the plan of the cautious Marava to come to a definite engagement. He adopted guerilla tactics, retreated into the inaccessible woods of his Jaghir, and harassed his Suzerain's forces by daring sallies and surprise attacks. Chokkanâtha was, in consequence, tired of the war.[64] He had moreover to perform certain religious ceremonies in his capital. He therefore left the conduct of the war to his lieutenants, and went to Trichinopoly. The officers were incompetent, and the Sêtupati was able to boldly emerge from the forest, resume the offensive, and inflict severe reverses on the royal forces. Chokkanâtha had consequently to withdraw his troops, except those which garrisoned the places taken already.

63 Tirumalai was the chief of the Maravas till 1670. Inscriptions 394 and 398 of 1906, which record gifts for his merit at the Satyagirinâtha temple at Tirumayyam, are dated 1669 and are therefore practically his last. He seems to have performed the Hiraṇyagarbha sacrifice and therefore had the title of Hiraṇyagarbhayâji. See Mad. *Ep. Rep.* 1911, p. 89.

64 See *Madura Manual.* Ṛaja Ram Rao's *Ramnaḍ Manual* does not mention this war.

His disastrous war with Mysore.

Besides the Tanjore and Râmnâḍ campaigns, Chokkanâtha seems to have been engaged in the first decade of his rule in a war with Mysore. Wilks says that it was due to "Chuckapa's" desire for the entire conquest of Mysore; but "the events of the war reversed his expectations, and left the districts of Erroor (Erode) and Darapoor (Dharapuram) as fixed conquests in the possession of Deo Raj, after he had urged his success to the extent of levying large contributions on Trichinopoly, and other places of importance." Wilks attributes this disaster to 1667 A. D. He also points out that in this year "Waumeloor" was taken by the Mysoreans from Gaute Moodelair (*i. e.*, Gheṭṭi Mudali). In other words, if we are to believe Wilks, Chokkanâtha lost the extensive province of Coimbatore and Salem. (Wilks, I, 37). Wheeler describes an even greater disaster. He says that, immediately after Chokkanâtha's accession, the Mysoreans came as far as Madura, and invested that city, and took it; but that Chokkanâtha subsequently laid siege to the city and reduced the Mysoreans to such a condition that they had to live on monkeys and asses and agreed, in return for the allowance to return to their country, to surrender the city. It is not improbable that this event took place in the Mysorean invasion of 1667.[65] Wilks however does not mention it. (Wheeler is not correct in his chronology. He places this event subsequent to the later Tanjore war of 1674. It is evident he confounds the 1st Tanjore war of Chokkanâtha with his campaign of 1674).

A decade of peace.

The Tanjore, Mysore and Râmnâḍ campaigns disclose the decay of the Madura kingdom, and incapacity of Chokkanâtha. The defeat of his arms and the diminution of his prestige which followed the Râmnâḍ invasion, however, seem to have taught him wisdom—to prefer the duties of peaceful administration to the doubtful laurels of war. The next ten years of his sovereignty, in consequence, are years of profound tranquillity and commendable repose[66]. There is nothing to record in this period, except the permanent transfer of the seat of government from Madura to Trichinopoly. In the recent days of trouble it was the fortifications of the latter city that had saved Chokkanâtha from ruin, and he therefore was desirous of making it his permanent residence. There was no harm, on the contrary there was perhaps a decided advantage, in this arrangement; but with extraordinary folly, Chokkanâtha gave orders for the demolition of the beautiful palace of Tirumal Nâik at Madura, in order that the materials might be utilized for the construction of a similar building at Trichinopoly. Immediately after the fatal order, the work of demolition began; "and every day saw trains of waggons bear away handsome beams, curiously carved monoliths, magnificent pillars of black marble, in a word, everything that was most excellent and admirable in an edifice which at that time was perhaps one of the finest in all Asia. And this barbarity was unblushingly perpetrated in order that materials might be procured for the erection of a common-place building which was never admired, about which history is altogether silen ; and at the cost of the people which had been ruined by long continued wars, and utterly beggared by the unremitting exactions of its ministers"[67] (Nelson p. 190).

65 Inscn. 181 of 1910 dated 1669-70 (Saumya) recording a grant to the temple of Kumârasvâmi at Satyamangalam should have been immediately after this invasion. See *Madr. Ep. Rep.* 1911, p. 92.

66 Chokkanâtha perhaps began to show his over-religious temperament in this period. At any rate we have a few inscriptions to show his religious activity at this time. Inscn. 649 of 1905 dated 1666 A.D., (the Tamil year *Kîlaka* is wrong) says that he made gifts of land to the Tiruchcheṅgôḍu temple. Inscn. 654 of the same year records that in S. 1585 Subhânu (1663) he built the Gôpura of the Ardhanârîsvara temple as well as the temple of Kâśi Visvêśvara, at Tiruchcheṅgôḍu.

67 Wheeler gives a singular reason for this transfer of the capital. Chokkanâtha, while staying in Madura after his victory over the Mysoreans, saw one day a cobra on his bed clothes, and he felt it necessary to leave Madura itself.

Râmnâd affairs.

It was during this interlude of peace, moreover, that some important events took place in the history of Râmnâḍ. The famous Tirumalai Sêtupati died[68] in 1670, after a long and beneficent reign of 30 years. On his death, his adopted son, Râja Sûrya, the real son of the Sêtupati's half-brother Âdinârâyaṇa Têva, ascended the throne. His reign was eventless except in regard to the history of the Râmêśvaram temple. He seems to have been an intriguer who schemed with Tanjore against his Suzerain.[69] He was consequently seized by Daḷavâi Vêṅkaṭa Kṛishṇaiya, a man of whom we shall hear presently, and taken to Trichinopoly, where, after a prisoner's life for some time, he was put to death. As he left no issue, the Maravas chose as his successor, according to one account, one Âtma Têvan, a distant relation of the deceased chief, to the *gadi*;[70] and when Âtma was snatched away by death within a few months of his elevation, they met once again, and chose as their leader, a scion of the royal family named Raghunâtha, surnamed, in consequence of his age, the Kiḻavan (old man). According to a second account,[71] after the death of Sûrya Têvar without issue, the Marava chiefs could not come to a definite understanding in regard to a successor, and so the country was, for a time, without a Sêtupati. Two men, ".Attana and after him Chandrappa Servaikaran, managed the affairs of the kingdom. Finally Reghunatha Tevar Kiḻavan, illegitimate son of the last Setupathi was installed." Wilson[72] says simply that Chokkanâtha, after putting Sûrya Teva to death, assisted his cousin Kiḻavan to become Sêtupati.

The accession of Kiḻavan Sêtupati was highly beneficial to Râmnâḍ. An able and efficient administrator, a fine soldier and statesman, Kiḻavan combined ability with experience, and tact with firmness. During the 35[73] years of his rule (1673-1708), in consequence, Râmnâḍ was really a power in the land, practically independent of Madura itself. One of his first and characteristic acts was to put to death the men who, by their schemes, had brought about his elevation; for he argued that the punishment of intrigue was more pressing than the claims of gratitude and that intriguers with him against others were not unlikely, under changed circumstances, to intrigue with others against himself. He then removed the capital from Pogaḷûr to Râmnâḍ and fortified[74] the latter. The fort "was built in the shape of a square, each side being about half a mile in extent, with the main gate to the east, facing the entrance to the king's palace. The fortifications consisted of a single wall, twenty seven feet high and five thick, surrounded by a deep ditch, now filled with rubbish. The wall was further strengthened with 32 bastions built at equal distances and loopholed, but without any ramparts. To the West of the palace was dug a spacious reservoir to collect the rain water as a provision against the droughts of the summer months. Among the people this tank is known as Mugava Urani, the tank where the face was washed, a name which arose with the rise of legend that Rama washed his face here on his way to Setu."

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68 This is doubtful, as we have an inscription of Tirumalai, dated 1673 at Hanumantaguḍi recording gifts of lands to a Musalman. See *Antiquities*, I, 298.

69 Sewell's *Antiquities*, II, 230, based on the Râmnâḍ *Manual*. The date of this is uncertain; some attribute Sûrya's death to his helping Vijaya Raghava, *i. e.*, they say that it took place *after* the Tanjore war.

70 *Calcutta Review* 1878, p. 453.

71 Râmnâḍ *Manual*; Sewell's *Antiquities*, II, p. 230.

72 *J. R. A. S.* III.

73 The dates are not quite certain. Two inscriptions of Tiruvâḍânai, dated 1679, mention gifts by "Hiraṇyagarbha Sêtupati." Was this person identical with Kiḻavan?

74 *Calcutta Review*, 1878, p. 453. *J. R. A. S.* III, 165-8.

The Origin of the Pudukkottai State.

One of the most important acts of Kilavan Sêtupati was the creation of the modern Tondamân Râj of Pudukkôtta. It has been already mentioned how the area covered by the modern Pudukkôtta State was, till the end of the 16th century, under the occupation of various chiefs. The Western parts were the possessions of the Manappârai and Marungâpuri Polygars, the Southern under the Sêtupati, the North-eastern under Tanjore Nâiks; and the centre, under the hereditary dynasty of the Pallava Râyas, Tondamâns as they were called. These Pallava Râyas must have, as their name signifies, been somehow connected with the ancient Pallavas of Tondamandalam. The late Rao Bahadur Venkaya believed that,[75] immediately after their subjugation by the Chôlas, the ancient Pallavas entered the service of their conquerors. The Karunâkara[76] Tondamân who, according to the *Kalingatupparani*, led Kulôttunga Chôla's forces against Kalinga and who was the lord of Vandai (Vandalur, Chingleput Dt.) was a Pallava. There were, again, Pallava vassals under Vikrama Chôla.[77] In the war of the Pândyan succession of the 12th century, the Tondamân played a very important part as the ally of Kulasêkhara, one of the claimants. From the account of this war, as given in the *Mahâvamsa*, it appears that the Tondamân dominions could not have been far from the Pândyan country; that, in fact, they were most probably in the region of Tirumangalam[78] and Srivilliputtûr. In a later Tanjore inscription, the name Tondamân is applied to a local chief named Sâmanta Nârâyana, who gave the village of Karundattângudi, the suburb of Tanjore, to Brahmans. Thus the name Tondamân actually travelled from the Pallava into the Chôla country. There is therefore every reason to suppose that the Tondamân of Pudukkôtta, who bears the title Pallava Râya, is descended from the Pallavas of Kânchi.[79] Whether this was so or not, the Tondamâns were a minor dynasty, in Kulattûr, a place not far from Pudukkôtta, till the time of Kilavan, when the first step for forming, out of his and his neighbour's territories a powerful and aggressive feudatory state was taken. It seems that the Pallava Râya, who ruled at the little territory around Pudukkôtta and who was "the last of his stocks" attempted to throw off his allegiance to Râmnâd and to place himself under the protection of Tanjore; and that the latter in consequence was removed by the Sêtupati. The latter then placed on the throne one Raghunâtha Tondamân, a local chief, whose sister, Kâttêri, he had married. Raghunâtha was a capable man, and he at once took steps to extend his little estate at the expense of his neighbours, till at last he became the head of an extensive State, with resources which enabled his descendants to thwart Râmnâd itself, and Tanjore, and above all, Madura.

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75 See *Arch. Surv. Ind.* 1906, pp. 241-3.

76 For a detailed study of the poem, see *Ind. Ant. XIX* (1890), 329-40.

77 See *Vikrama Cholan Ula*. For a very able analysis of this from two MSS. of the Tanjore palace library by the late Mr. V. Kanakasabai Pillai, see *Ind. Ant. XXII* (1893), pp. 141-8.

78 Venkaya bases that surmise on the fact that a place called Mangalam is frequently mentioned.

79 Venkaya believes that the Pallavas were Kurumbas (like the Vijayanagar kings later on) of whom the Tamil Kurubas and Canarese Karabas are representatives. From the facts that the term Pallava is used identically with Vellala in some inscriptions that the Telugu Reddis and agriculturists called themselves Pallavas and that Pallava Raya is one of the 30 *gotras* of the Tamil Vellâlas Mr. Venkaya surmises that there must have been some connection between the Pallavas and the cultivating caste in the Tamil as well as the Telugu country. We suppose that some of them must have settled down as cultivators after their political decline. See *Arch. Surv. Ind.* 1906, p. 243.

Such is the account of the origin of the modern state of the Toṇḍamân as given by Mr. Nelson. According to this, the Toṇḍamâns are a very modern dynasty, who came to prominence only in the latter part of the 16th century. The palace records and the indigenous chronicles, however, claim a very ancient origin to the dynasty. They assert that the first of the line, " the founder of the family, was one Tirumalai Toṇḍaiman," who emigrated from Tirupati or Tirumalai in Toṇḍamaṇḍalam, and settled in Ambukkôvil (22 miles east-north-east of Pudukkôṭṭai), seventeen generations before the middle of the 17th century. A Telugu poem, apparently composed about 1760, refers to one Âvaḍai Raghunâtha Toṇḍamân, the 18th in descent from Tirumalai, as having distinguished himself by capturing an elephant in one of the hunting expeditions of Srî Raṅga Râya of Vijayanagar (about 1638-78), and as having been rewarded with the title of Râya and several other distinctions. The fact that he obtained this title from the Vijayanagara king is also mentioned in a Pudukkôṭṭai grant as early as 1709. The same chief is stated in the memorandum of 1819, already mentioned, to have conquered the Pallava Râyas in 1639, with the permission of the Vijayanagara king, and to have laid the foundations of the present Pudukkôṭṭai State. His son served the Nâik king of Tanjore for a short time; but in the end left his patron and annexed to his dominions several of the Tanjore villages. The same Toṇḍamân is said to have given his sister to the Kiḻavan, " the notorious Sêtupati of Râmnâḍ, and to have received, about 1675, as a gift from the Sêtupati, the country of Pudukkôṭṭai, which his father represented in the palace memorandum to have conquered in 1640."

The editor of the *Trichinopoly Gazetteer* believes that the second version, *i.e.*, traditional account given above, "is inadequately supported by contemporary evidence and is in many ways improbable," and he therefore thinks that Nelson's theory is the correct one. It seems to me, however, that there is no inconsistency between the two theories. It is quite possible that, while the Pallava Râyas were ruling at Pudukkôṭṭai, there was a contemporary local line of chiefs at Ambukkôvil. Most probably the two lines of chiefs were constant rivals, till at last he who was ruling at Ambukkôvil in the middle of the 17th century, conquered his contemporary at Pudukkôṭṭai and got himself confirmed in his new acquisition by Kiḻavan Sêtupati, as he was his brother-in-law. As regards the title Toṇḍamân, it had been assumed by both the dynasties, and is now continued to be worn by the surviving one.

(To be continued.)

MISCELLANEA.

SURGEON GABRIEL BOUGHTON.

In a paper entitled " Jahânârâ " and published in the *Journal* of the Panjab Historical Society Vol. II. No. 2 (1914), the author has controverted the assertion that Surgeon Gabriel Boughton did not take part in the treatment and recovery of Jahânâra Begâm, daughter of Emperor Shâh Jahân. The learned author has noticed the "Boughton Legend" at greater length than the scope of the article would seem to admit. He has consulted certain sources which he has either particularly noticed by name, or omitted to do so, as the context would show. As an Editor of a history for the B. I. Edition, now in course of publication and as an employé of the Bengal Asiatic Society, he must have read the paper on Surgeon Boughton and the privileges to the English traders published in 1912 in the Society's *Journal*, and Mr. *William*

THE ANTIQUITIES OF MAHABALIPUR.

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MAHÂBALIPÛR, popularly known Mâvalivaram, is a village about 20 miles east-south-east of Chingleput and lies in a narrow strip of land between the Buckingham Canal and the Sea. It is now a small hamlet with but a few houses, though it has in it a Vaishṇava temple of some importance and considerable antiquity. Excepting an old light-house and the bungalow of the Zamindar of Nallâttûr there is nothing to indicate that the place is of any consequence at present. It is nevertheless a place of very great importance to the Archæologist, since the monuments left there are regarded as at the very foundation of Dravidian civilization on its architectural side.

The monuments in this particular locality fall into three classes:—

(1) Monolithic rock-cut shrines.

(2) Excavation in the shape of caves of various kinds.

(3) Structural buildings—such as temples.

'If we do not know all we wish about the antiquities of Mâmallapuram', says Fergusson,[1] 'it is not because attempts have not been made to supply the information. Situated on an open beach, within 32 miles of Madras, it has been more visited and oftener described than any other place in India. The first volume of the *Asiatic Researches* (1788) contained an exhaustive paper on them by Wm. Chambers. This was followed in the fifth (1798) by another by Mr. Goldingham. In the second volume of the *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1830) there appeared what was then considered a most successful attempt to decipher the inscriptions there, by Dr. Guy Babington, accompanied by views of most of the sculptures. Before this however, in 1816, Colonel Colin Mackenzie had employed his staff to make detailed drawings of all the sculptures and architectural details, and he left a collection of about forty drawings, which are now in manuscript in the India Office. Like all such collections, without descriptive text, they are nearly useless for scientific purposes. The *Madras Journal* in 1844, contained a guide to the place by Lieutenant J. Braddock, with notes by the Rev. G. W. Mahon, the Rev. W. Taylor, and Sir Walter Elliot; and almost every Journal of every traveller in these parts contains some hint regarding them, or some attempt to describe and explain their peculiarities or beauties. With the exception of the Mackenzie Ms. the most of these were collected in a volume in 1869 by a Lieutenant Carr, and published at the expense of the Madras Government, but, unfortunately, as too often happens, the editor selected had no general knowledge of the subject, nor had he apparently much local familiarity with the place. His work in consequence added nothing to our previous stores'.

Since then, however, a great deal more attention has been bestowed upon the place, by archæological and other experts in those branches of study to which in particular each turned his head or hand. Fergusson has embodied his architectural views in two monumental works of his: *The Cave Temples of India* and his *Hand-book on Indian and Eastern Architecture*, which has received the approval of, and revision by, James Burgess. Mr. Rea has brought out a book on Pallava architecture, on behalf of the Government

[1] *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, I. 328 (New Edn.).

Note.—This paper embodies the subject matter of two special University lectures delivered before the University of Madras in November, 1916. It gives me the greatest pleasure to acknowledge, in this connection, my obligations to Mr. A. H. Longhurst, Superintendent of Archaeology, Madras Circle, for his ready kindness in allowing me the use of his photographic negatives and photographs, both for illustrating the lectures and the paper as it appears now.

of Madras. The Madras Epigraphists, Dr. Hultzch and his successors, have done their part in deciphering and interpreting the inscriptions. Others have been equally busy. There is a handy and very useful guide book recently published by Mr. Coombes of the Education Department, better known by his connection with the Chingleput Reformatory.

Last of all, there is the work of the Frenchman, Professor of Pondicherry, **Jouveau-Dubreuil**, whose recent work on *South Indian Architecture and Iconography* has perforce to allot considerable space to this locality.

With such an array of expository effort extending over a whole century and more, it would be rash indeed to attempt any further exposition of the subject which, at best, could result only in adding 'another hue unto the rainbow.' It turns out happily that it is not so, because so far no one has succeeded in expounding what actually this signifies in South Indian History. Even in respect of some of the details that have already been examined by archæological specialists there has not been the co-ordination of evidence leading to conclusions for historical purposes. This it is proposed to attempt, with just the necessary amount of examination of various archæological details for co-ordination with a view to the historical significance of the antiquities of Mahâbalipuram.

The modern name of the village is Mâvalivaram, or the Sanskritized Mahâbalipuram, the city of Mahâbali, the great emperor of the Asuras, who, legend has it, was too good and too powerful to be suffered by the gods gladly. The god Vishnu in his dwarf incarnation outwitted him. Praying for a gift of three feet of earth, he measured the nether and the other world in two, and demanded room for the third foot promised. Great Bali prayed that his humble head give the room demanded. When the foot of the Great One was placed upon it Bali sank under the earth, where he is said to reign supreme monarch of the world below. The unwary visitor to the shore-temple in the village is occasionally informed that the recumbent figure in the seaward chamber of the smaller shrine of the shore-temple is Bali on his couch.

There is a panel of Trivikrama in the Varâhâvatâra cave and beyond this there is nothing particularly to associate this place with the demon-emperor Bali. This form of the name, perhaps, became familiar in connection with the dynasty which was known in the interior of this region as the Mahâbalis (Mâvalis popularly) or Bânas, with their capital at Tiruvallam in the North Arcot District, and with their territory taking in portions of Mysore also. So far as our knowledge of this dynasty goes at present, they seem to have flourished in the period intervening between the death of the last great Pallava king **Nandivarman** and the rise of the first great Chola king **Parântaka**. There is a reference to a Mahâbali ruler, who was the father-in-law of the reigning Chola king **Killi** in the *Maṇimêkhalai*[2]. This work has to be referred to a period anterior to the Pallavas, as even the late Rai Bahadur V. Veṇkayya[3] allots the great Chola Karikâla to the sixth century A. D., the period of interregnum between the great Pallava Dynasty, and the dynasty that preceded it.

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2 நெடியோன் குறளுருவாகி நிமிர்ந்துத
னடியிற் படியை யடக்கி யவன்றன்
நீரிற் பெய்த மூரிவார் சிலை
மாவலி மருமான் சீர்கெழு திருமகள்
சீர்த்தி யென்னுந் திருத்தகு தேவி.

Maṇimêkhalai. Canto XIX. ll. 51-55.

3 *A. S. R.* 1906-7. p. 224. note 1.

In the days, however, of the great Pallava dynasty, the place was known as Mâmallapuram, generally taken to mean the city of Mahâmalla (Mâmalla), the Pallava Narasimhavarman I. *Tirumangai Âḻvâr* refers to the city invariably as Mallai and has often the adjunct Kaḍal (Sea) before Mallai. In one verse he refers to the Pallava king **Paramêsvara Varman** as 'Mallaiyarkôn'[4] the king of the 'people of Mallai', or of the people 'Mallar'. The latter meaning is taken to find support in the expression *Mahâmallakulam* in lines 24 & 25 of the copper plate grant of the **Chaulukya Vikramâditya**[5] I; but the expression Mahâmallakulam need not refer to a people, and probably refers to the family of Mahâmalla, the Pallava king **Narasimhavarman** of Kânchî.

The title Mahâmalla was the title assumed by the Pallava king **Narasimhavarman**[6] I. It is this Pallava king that sent out two naval expeditions to help his friend **Mânavarma** of Ceylon, who ruled the island from A. D. 691 to 726.[7] Of the first invasion we have, in the chronicle, '**Mânavarma** then took ship and crossed over the sea (with his Army) and having made a fast voyage, landed at Lanka with his forces, and began to subdue the country (around)'. The following passage contains a more detailed reference to the second. And **Narasimha** thus thought within himself: "This my friend, who seeketh most resolutely after fame, hath spent now many years of his life in my service that so he might get back his kingdom. And lo! he will soon have grown old. How then can I now reign (in comfort) and see him (thus miserable)? Assuredly I shall this time restore to him his kingdom by sending my army thither. Else what advantageth my life to me?" Thereupon the king collected his army together, and having equipped it well gave **Mânavarma** all things he desired to have, and himself accompanied the army to the sea-coast, where a mighty array of ships of burden, gaily ornamented, has been prepared for them. And when the king reached the harbour he gave orders to all his officers that they should embark and accompany **Mânavarma**; but they all showed unwillingness to do so (without their king).

'And **Narasiṁha**, having pondered well over the matter, resolved on this stratagem. Keeping himself so that his army might not see him, he gave over to **Mânavarma** all his retinue and insignia of royalty together with the ornaments with which he adorned his person, and sent him (secretly) on board the ship, bidding him take the royal drum, the *Koṭṭa*, with him, and sound it from the deck of the vessel. And **Mânavarma** did as he was directed; and the soldiers thinking that it was the king (who was sounding the call), embarked leaving him alone on the land. Then **Mâna** began his voyage, with the army and all the material of war, which, with the ships in which they were borne, was like unto a city floating down the sea. And in due time he reached the port and disembarked with the army.'

In regard to these transactions the following details have to be noted. **Mânavarma** came to India some time after the accession to the throne of **Haṭṭadatha** II (A. D. 664). He lived for sometime alone, and then brought his wife over and she had by him four sons (say ten or twelve years). Then took place the war between **Narasiṁha** and the **Vallabha** (who must be Pulakeśin or Pulikeśin II). This war and the destruction of **Vallabha's** capital Vâtâpi are ascribed to the year A. D. 642 by Dr. Fleet. Then took place the first expedition to Ceylon in aid of **Mânavarma**. It proved a

[4] *Periya Tirumoḻi*, 2nd Ten. 9th Decad. Stanza 1. [5] *Ante*, Vol. VI., pp. 75–78.
[6] *A. S. R.* 1906-7, p. 228 and refs. in note 5. [7] *Mahâvaṁśa*, Turnour and Wijesimha, Ch. XLVII.

failure and **Manavarma** returned and waited till four kings had ruled in Ceylon. In other words he had to bide his time during the rest of the reign of **Haṭṭadhata II** and the reigns of his successors till, in A. D. 691, he was able to reinstall himself on the throne in **Anuradhapura**. He ruled afterwards for thirty-five years. Assuming that he came to India a young man, about 65 years of active life seem possible; but there is a discrepancy of about 35 years between the Ceylonese and Indian chronology. Let that pass. The synchronism is near enough, notwithstanding this discrepancy, to justify this assumption that **Manavarma** and **Narasiṁha-Varman I. Mahamalla** were contemporaries.

What was the port of embarkation of this grand Armada? **Narasiṁha's** capital was at Kânchî, and **Narasiṁha's** name or title figures prominently in several of the structures in Mahâbalipuram, considered the oldest according to architectural standards. The natural inference then would seem to be that this Mahâbalipuram as it is now called, was the chief port of the Pallavas, and that, since the Pallava ruler, **Mahamalla Narasiṁha** attempted to enhance its importance by building these structures, it came to be known then Mâmallapuram. This conclusion finds support in the following passage in the life of Hiuen Tsiang. 'The city of Kânchîpura is situated on the mouth (bay) of the Southern Sea of India, looking towards the kingdom of Simhala, distant from it three days' voyage.' The city [8] of Kânchîpura here referred to can be no other than the 'port of Kânchîpura,' in all likelihood Mahâbalipur. This probability is enhanced by what follows regarding the arrival of the two Buddhist Divines, **Bôdhimeghêsvara** and **Abhayadaṁshṭra**, because of a revolution in Ceylon. They are said to have just arrived at the city, and this could only be in the port and not at the capital 40 miles inland. The corresponding passage in Watter's *Yuwan Chwang Vol. II. p.* 227, is 'Kânchîpura is the sea port of South India for Ceylon, the voyage to which takes three days.'

Compare with this the following description of Talaśayanam by Tirumangai Âḻvâr:— 'Oh my foolish mind, circumambulate in reverence those who have the strength of mind to go round the holy Talaśayanam, which is Kaḍalmallai, in the harbour of which, ride at anchor, vessels bent to the point of breaking laden as they are with wealth, rich as one's wishes, trunked big elephants and the nine gems in heaps.' [9]

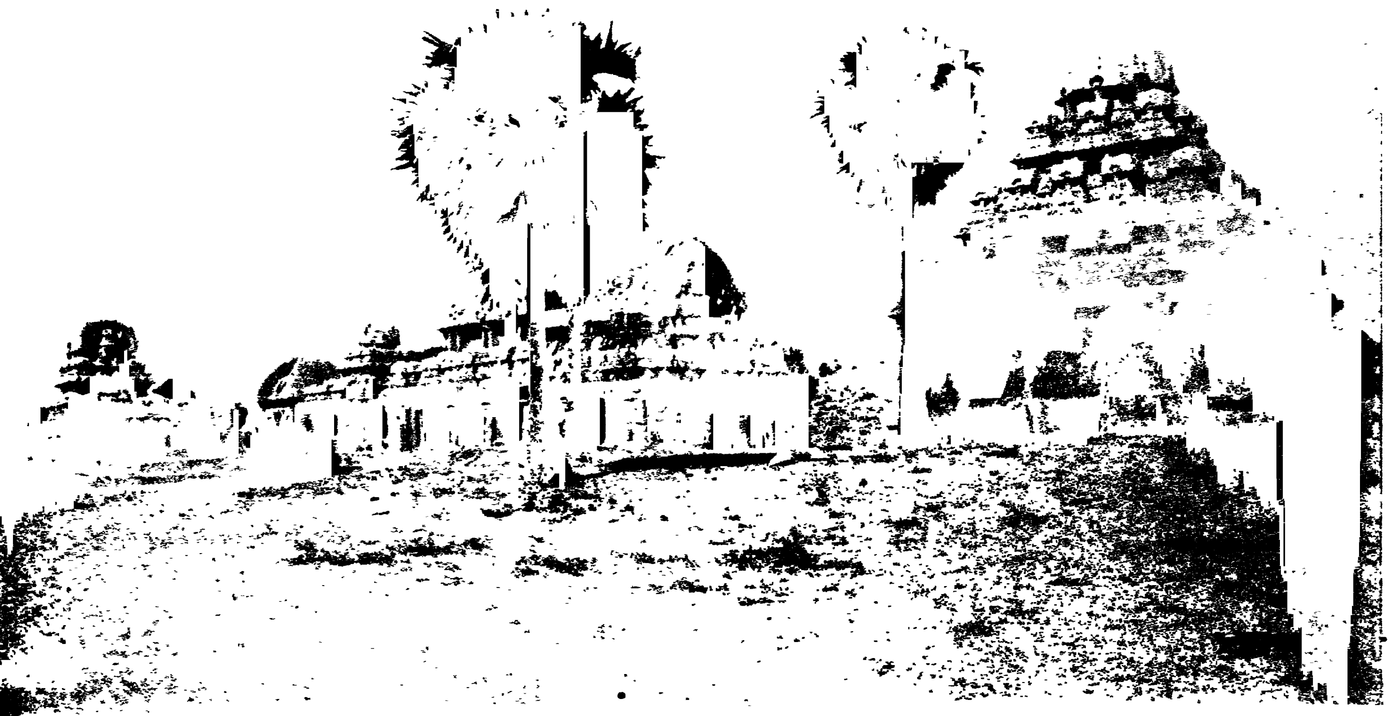
There still remains the form of the name Mallai, distinguished often as Kaḍalmallai, 'the Mallai close to the sea.' This is the name invariably used by **Tirumangai Âḻvar**, who lived one generation later than **Narasiṁha**. Even **Bhûtattâḻvâr**, whose native place it was, refers to it as Mallai. This must have been an anterior name therefore, and the distinction '**Kaḍalmallai**' raises the presumption that there was another Mallai, and possibly a people called Mallar, referred to by **Tirumangai Âḻvar** in the designation of **Paramêsvaravarman**, 'Pallavan Mallaiyarkôn' (the king of Mallar.)

The first plate represents what is usually known as the Pancha Pâṇḍava Ratha. This name seems to have arisen at a time when the significance of the *'rathas'* had long

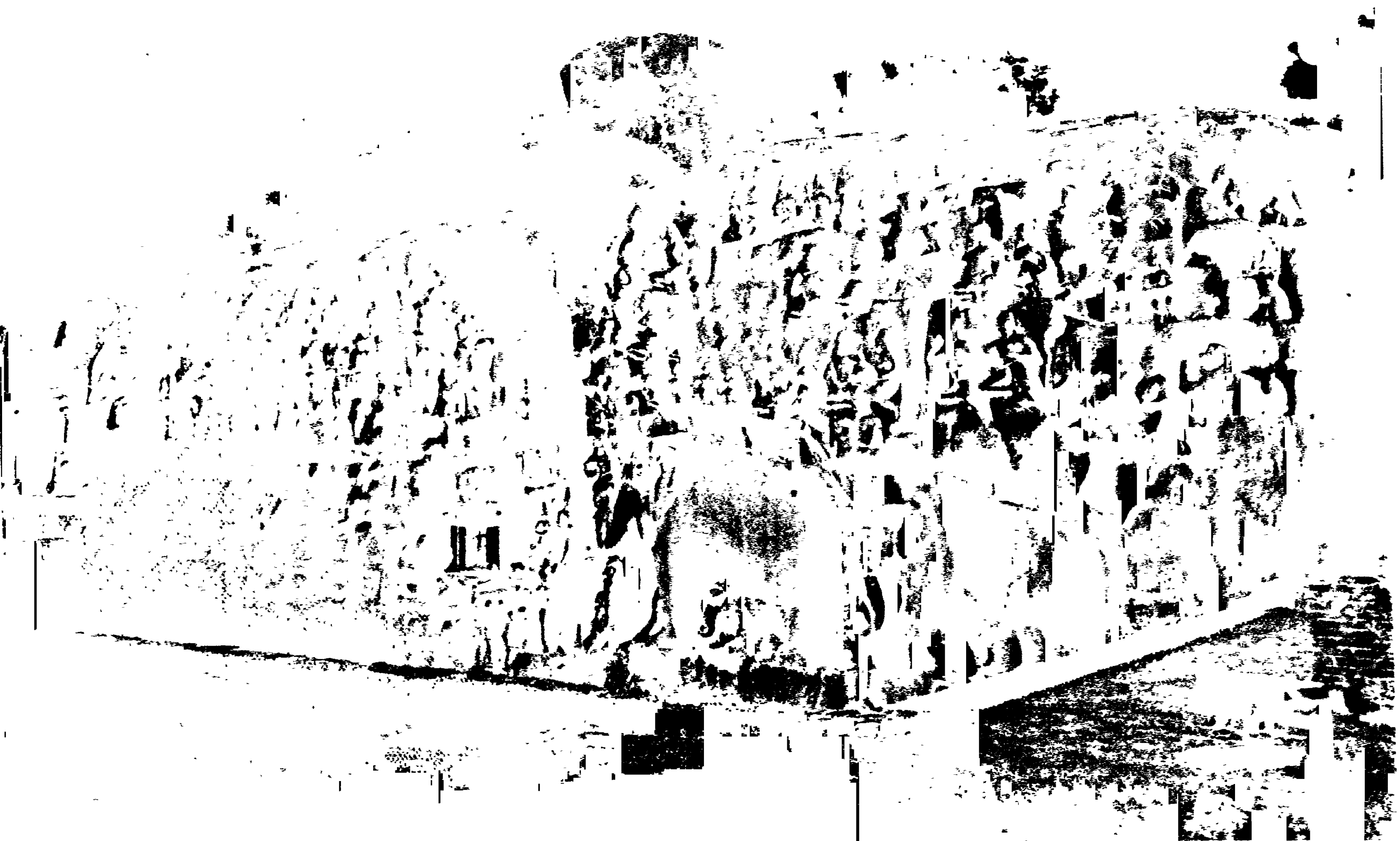
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[8] Beal's *Hiuen Tsiang*, p. 139.

[9] புலன்கொள் நிதிக்குவையோடு புழைக்கைம்மாக ளிற்றினமும்
நலங்கொள் நவமணிக்குவையும் சுமந்தெங்கும் நான்றொசிந்து
கலங்களியங்கும் மல்லைக்கடன் மல்லைத்தல சயனம்
வலங்கொள் மனத்தாரவரை வலங்கொள்ளென் மடநெஞ்சே.



PANCHA PANDAVA RATHA — GENERAL VIEW





been forgotten and the story of the *Mahâbhârata* was in great vogue. The origin seems simple enough. Of the five structures one differs from the rest the smallest with a peculiar roofing—a roofing that seems formed on the pattern of a small hut with the roof overlaid with paddy grass as village houses and huts often are. Of the four other structures three are quite similar in form. The whole five struck the popular imagination as houses built for the five brothers, the twins counting as one, as is often the case in the original *Mahâbhârata*. Hence the name must have appeared peculiarly appropriate, having regard to the magnificient bas-relief which goes by the name of Arjuna's Penance.

The illustration exhibits the structural differences between the so-called Dharmarâja and the Bhîmaratha clearly. The Dharmarâja, Arjuna and Nakula-Sahadêva Rathas are of one pattern—the conical ; the Bhîma Ratha is of a different pattern—the apsidal ; while the Draupadi Ratha is of the conical pattern likewise, but exhibits the roof smooth showing even the details of the over-lying paddy grass. The difference between the other three and the Bhîma Ratha is one of structure—the structure of the originals of which these are but obvious copies. The originals are no other than village houses, which are of the same two patterns all along the coast. The roofing material is almost universally plaited cocoanut fronds overlaid in more substantial dwellings by dried paddy grass. Such a structure necessitates certain structural features in the roof, which in the copies develop into ornaments. The tale of their origin is disclosed often by the names that stone masons and others engaged in architecture make use of. Inscriptions on them make it clear that these were intended to enshrine gods and goddesses. The work was begun under **Narasimhavarman, Pallavamalla,** was continued under **Paramêsvaravarman** I. and **Narasimhavarman II, Rajasimha,** and had not been quite completed even under **Nandivarman Pallavamalla,** the last great Pallava : in all a period of about a century. The Dharmarâja Ratha has inscriptions of all these except the last, while the Gaṇêśa Ratha and the caves of Sâluvanguppan contain inscriptions of **Atiranachanda** taken to be a surname of **Nandivarman** while it might possibly be one of **Rajasimha** himself.

Plates II & III represent the bas-relief which goes by the name of **Arjuna's Penance.** The sculptor has made use of a whole piece of rock with a hollow right in the middle, perhaps caused by the erosion of running water. The first gives the general view of the whole. The striking feature of the whole scene depicted appears to be the water course towards which every figure represented seems to move. As is always the case in Hindu temple building, one will see a small shrine on the left side of the cascade containing a standing figure. Just outside the shrine an old looking man is found seated to one side in the attitude of one performing *japa* (repeating prayers). Almost in a line with this, but above is seen another figure of an old man standing on the left leg, the right somewhat raised and bent, and both his hands held above his head in an attitude of god-compelling penance. In front of this old man is seen the majestic figure of a god, standing in an attitude of granting the prayer, with four hands, two of them holding weapons and the other two in the poses known as *abhaya* (no fear) for the left, and as *varada* (giving boons) for the right. The dwarf figures about and close to the personage deserve to be noted, as they are characteristic of Siva: the dwarf figures being representations of various *gaṇas*.

What this bas-relief represents has been agitating the minds of archæologists very much. Their doubts that this does not represent **Arjuna's Penance** has shown itself in protean forms. Fergusson has it in his *Cave Temples of India* (P. 155—6): "It was popularly known as **Arjuna's Penance** from the figure of a Sannyâsi standing on one leg, and holding his arms over his head, which is generally assumed to represent that hero of the *Mahâbhârata*, but without more authority than that which applies his name with that of his brothers and sister [10] to the Ratha above described."

"In the centre on a projecting ledge, between the two great masses of rock, once stood the statue of the great **Nâgarâja**, who was the principal personage for whose honour this great bas-relief was designed." This opinion is apparently shared by Burgess who collaborated with him in the publication of his standard work, the *Cave Temples of India.* These doubts, however, are thus summarised by a recent archaeologist in the following words :—

"Concerning the latter bas-relief, it is well to recollect that we cannot any more call it '**Arjuna's Penance.**'" The merit of having given a satisfactory explanation of this scene goes to Mr. Victor Goloubew ? who has proved (*Journal Asiatique,* 11th series, Vol. IV. July-August 1914) :—

1. That the principal object in the scene is the vertical crevice in the rock, for it is towards it that all the personages are turned ;

2. That the presence of *nagas* in the crevice proves the presence of water.

In that case all is clear. During the Pallava epoch the rain water flowed through the crevice. This cascade then represented the Ganges descending to the earth from the heights of Kailâsa. On the rock Śiva is seen giving an ear to the prayers of **Bhagîratha.** Thus the personage who has so long been mistaken for **Arjuna** is no other than **Bhagîratha,** and this grand sight must be called not '**Arjuna's Penance**', but '**Bhagîratha's Penance**'. [11]

This authority, who is no other than my friend Prof. **Jouveau–Dubreuil** of Pondicherry, whose methodical work in this branch of Archaeology has my sincere admiration, refuses to accept the popular designation of the relief and recognises that it represents **Bhagîratha's Penance.**

The bas-relief has to be carefully examined alongside of the story of **Arjuna's Penance** in the *Mahâbhârata* to accept or reject the popular name. The new suggestion has to be equally critically examined to establish a superior appropriateness. We shall prove by such an examination that the now prevalent name is the correct one, and the one suggested is hardly appropriate ; and, as a consequence no further suggestion of a name is called for. The story of **Arjuna's Penance,** as described in the Kairâta *sarga* of the *Mahâbhârata,* is briefly as follows :—

Arjuna, while in exile with his brothers and their wife **Draupadî,** was advised, as a measure of necessary preparation for the war then almost certain, to go to the Himâlayas, perform a penance to god Śiva, and, by pleasing him, obtain from him the *Pâśupata,* the weapon characteristic of Śiva, and, therefore, could be given only by him. **Arjuna** went as directed and performed a long and severe penance. Śiva was pleased enough with the penance which was of sufficient severity to make the gods feel perturbed as to consequences. All the same the weapon par excellence would not be conferred upon him without testing his

[10] This was no sister but the common wife of the five brothers.

[11] Prof. G. Jouveau-Dubreuil's *Pallava Antiquities,* Vol. I., page 66.

worth. For the purposes of this test Siva assumed the form of a hunter and went in pursuit of a boar, the form assumed by one of his attendants. The boar, as was intended dashed into the sequestered glade of the forest where **Arjuna** was rapt in contemplation in the course of his penance. The inrush of such an unwelcome intruder created such a disturbance about him that he opened his eyes and saw the wild boar. The instinct of the Kshatriya got the better of him; he took up his bow and with a single arrow, shot from it, transfixed him as he thought. Simultaneously with his action the hunter who came in the trail of his game, shot also and the dead beast shewed the marks of both arrows. The huntsman and the hermit both claimed the honour of the chase and the possession of the quarry. The opposing claims ended in a combat in which they fought hand to hand. Finding in the course of it the weapon that **Arjuna** cherished the most proved of no avail, and feeling his own strength ebbing away in the combat, **Arjuna** bethought him of what he had forgotten. His Kshatriya blood was up and he had forgotten, for the nonce, Siva. During the respite given for gaining breath, he placed a mud image of Siva and placed on its head a bunch of wild flowers which he had at hand. He was surprised to find the bunch on the head of his antagonist. Finding at once that he was fighting hand to hand with no other than God Siva he threw himself, into the attitude of a penitent who was determined to wipe out the guilt of this sacrilege by the severest penance he had yet done. Then Siva shewed himself to him in his usual form to assure **Arjuna** that he was pleased with the valour he shewed in the combat, which he had brought on on purpose to test him. Siva then asked him to state the boon that he would have. **Arjuna**, of course, demanded the gift of the *Pâśupata*, which God Siva gave with pleasure and benignity.[12]

The whole of this story is exhibited in three tableaux in the bas-relief. The sculptor has chosen the characteristic incidents in the story (1) the lower part exhibits **Arjuna** in penance, (2) the second exhibits the chase, the boar galloping away ahead while the other animals are quiescent in the relief, (3) the third is where Siva appears before **Arjuna** and bestows upon him the boon demanded by the penitent as a result of the penance. The three taken together make it clear that the relief is a representation on the surface of the rock of **Arjuna's Penance.** The trend of the various other beings towards the middle is not because of the watercourse there, but because of the chief character, Siva, being there. The watercourse is merely incidental and cannot be held to represent the coming of the Ganges (*Gaṅgâvataraṇa*). The story of the coming of the Gaṅgâ, so far as it relates to this particular, requires that Gaṅgâ should be shown as descending upon the matted coiffure of Siva, getting lost there almost, issuing therefrom in a small stream by means of a loosened lock. The aspect of Siva in the relief has nothing in it to indicate this.

There is much other evidence on the point, but it is other than archaeological. The archaeological features of the bas-relief leave little doubt that it was of the period of **Narasimhavarman I, Pallavamalla,** who was a contemporary of the two *Tévâram* hymners, **Appar** and **Sambandar.** Both of these mention the incident

[12] Cantos, 42 & 43 Book I, Kumbhakonam Edition.

of giving the *Pâsupata* to **Arjuna** as one of the more prominent acts of beneficence by Siva[13]. The inscriptions on the Rathas and the caves make it absolutely clear that **Narasimhavarman** laboured to make them Siva shrines and make a Saiva centre of the place. Inscriptions Nos. 17 & 18 on the Dharmarâja Ratha make it clear that it was intended to be called 'Atyantakâma Pallavêsvara.'[14] The same name occurs in the so-called Gaṇêśa Ratha and in the Ramânuja Maṇṭapam. This **Atyantakama** was no other than **Paramêsvaravarman,** the grandson of **Narasimhavarman I.** and father of **Narasimhavarman II, Rajasiniaha.** The larger number of buildings in rock therefore began to be excavated by **Narasimhavarman I,** and reached their completion if they ever reached it at all under **Narasimha II, Rajasiniha,** Saiva sovereigns in a Saiva age. These naturally made the bas-relief represent one of the most popular of Siva's acts of beneficence to humanity which both the *Têvâram* hymners refer to very often in the course of their works. This is the more natural seeing that the other bas-relief has reference to one of Kṛishṇa's achievements, the holding up of the hill, **Gôvardhana,** to protect the cowherds and cattle from a shower of stones. We shall revert to this later; but must mention here that this place finds no mention in the *Têvârum* as a place holy to Siva, though these hymners refer to **Tirukaḷukkunṛam**; nor is the place included among those peculiarly sacred to Siva now. It seems to be then beyond the possibility of doubt that this bas-relief represents **Arjuna's Penance,** not as an incident in the *Mâhâbhrata* but as a representation of one of Siva's many acts of beneficence to humanity, perhaps because it is so depicted in the hymns of the *Têvâram.*

This interpretation finds unlooked for support in the archaeological remains of a few pillars recently unearthed at Chandimau in the Behar District of the Patna Division. These are sculptures that exhibit the same incident and the monument belongs, according to Mr. R. D. Banerjee, to the 5th or the 6th Century A. D. as the inscriptions found on the pillars are of the Gupta characters.[15]

Another point in regard to this bas-relief is whether it is the work of foreigners. That foreign workmen from other parts of India and outside did do work in this part of the country on occasions, is in evidence in the Tamil classics.[16] Jewellers fronr Magadha,

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[13] ஓரியல் பல்லா வுருவமதாகி யொண்டிறல்வே
-னதுருவது கொண்டு
காரிகை காணத்தனஞ் சயன்றன்னைக் கறுத்
தவற் களித்துடன் காதல்செய் பெருமான்.
திருவெங்குரு. 3. (சம்பந்தர்)

பாடகஞ்சேர் மெல்லடி நற்பாவை யாளும்
நீயும் போய்ப்பார்த் தனது பலத்தைக் காண்பான்
வேடனாய் வில்வாங்கி யெய்தநாளோ.
திருவாரூர்த் திருத்தாண்டகம். 3. (அப்பர்)

[14] *Epigraphia Indica*, X. p. 8. [15] *A. S. R.* For 1911-12 p. 162-et. seq.

[16] மகதவினை ஞரும்மராட்டக் கம்மரும்
மவந்திக் கொல்லரும் யவனத்தச் சருஞ்
தண்டமிழ் வினைஞர் தம்மொடு கூடிக்
கொண்டினி தியற்றிய கண்கவர் செய்வினைப்
பவளத்தி ரள்காற் பன்மணிப் போதிகை.
Manimêkhalai XIX 107-110.

யவனத் தச்சரும் மவந்திக் கொல்லரு
மகதத்துப் பிறந்தமணி வினைக்கா ரரும்
.....................பசும்பொன் வினைஞருங்
கோசலத் தியன்ற ஓவியத் தொழிலரும்
வத்த நாட்டு வண்ணக் கம்மரும்.

Perungadai. Unjaikkâṇḍam, passage quoted under above in Pundit Saminatha Aiyar's edition of *Manimêkhalai.*

smiths from Mahârâṭṭa, blacksmiths from Avanti (Malva), carpenters from Yavana, laboured with the artisans of the Tamil land.

Admitting this possible co-operation, it requires more to prove borrowing either the inspiration or the execution. None of the details of these works seem foreign either to the locality or to the prevalent notions of indigenous art. The suspected 'Cornucopia' held in the hand by one of the figures at the bottom of the central water-course is none other than a sling containing the sacrificial platter of wood which one of the disciples has washed and put together to carry home to the hermitage, while his companion carries on his shoulder a vessel of water.

(*To be continued.*)

THE HISTORY OF THE NAIK KINGDOM OF MADURA

By V. RANGACHARI, M.A., L.T., MADRAS.

(*Continued from p. 47.*)

However it might have been, the rise of the Toṇḍamâns was an important event in the history of Madura, Tanjore and Râmnâḍ. From the time when Raghunâtha Toṇḍamân established himself at Pudukkôṭṭai, there was a new state which, led by able men and acute leaders, played a large part as a buffer-State in the wars and fortunes of the three powers which surrounded it. Nominally subordinate to Râmnâḍ, it adjusted its policy to the exigencies of the moment, and utterly indifferent to the principle of constancy or loyalty, carried on its own task of self-expansion. The Toṇḍamân, as we shall see later on, did not hesitate to act against Râmnâḍ if his interests dictated such a course. Similarly, he did not hesitate to fight with Madura, the suzerain of his immediate suzerain. Towards Tanjore the Toṇḍamân was, as a rule, an enemy; but even here enmity or friendship depended on the expediency of the moment. The result of these moves and countermoves, of these alliances and enmities, was that Pudukkoṭṭai was able, in the long run, to survive both the kingdoms of Tanjore and Madura and, in a sense, the estate of Râmnâḍ, as the last of these became, thanks to its instigation, a partitioned and therefore comparatively powerless estate.

In the year 1674 the interval of peace ended, and Chokkanâtha again entered into a series of wars which, though at first attended with startling success, eventually turned out highly disastrous to the kingdom. The first of these, which was destined to mark a revolution in the history of South India, was with Tanjore. It not only led to the sudden extinction of the Nâik dynasty of that kingdom, but to the advent of the Marathas, just then rising to power and prominence, into the South. The Maratha occupation of Tanjore led in its turn to important effects. The Tanjore colony was the work of the younger son of Shahji, and was followed by a civil war between him and his elder brother. The struggle between the brothers was complicated by the entrance on the scene of their common enemy, Mysore, then under the efficient and powerful rule of Chika Dêva Râj. The ambition and avarice of the contending parties extended their field of operations into the region between the Kâveri and the Vaigai. The kingdom of Madura became, in consequence, a vast theatre of war. The position of Chokkanâtha was a most unfortunate and miserable one; for while the Marathas and Mysoreans were struggling with one another, they were equally interested in despoiling his power and annexing his kingdom, so that in a few years his authority was reduced to

a shadow and his extensive dominion to the single city of Trichinopoly. And when to this foreign conquest, he had to meet the contumacy of the greatest of his vassals, the Sêtupati, who raised an independent standard at a time when his master was most in need of his obedience and help, the cup of Chokkanâtha's grief became too full, and he passed away, leaving his kingdom in possession of contending foreigners, and his subjects the victims of war and military occupation.

The Tanjore war affords a fine example, so common in Indian History, of history merging into romance. The cause of the war was, as in many other cases in India, a woman. The king of Tanjore, the pious Achyuta Vijaya Râghava, had a daughter, whose beauty of person and of mind, had gained wide renown and a crowd of suitors. Chokkanâtha was an aspirant for her hand, and in 1674 despatched an embassy with presents and proposals of marriage. But no sooner did the Madura messengers state the object of their visit than the monarch of Tanjore flew into a passion and declared that the proposal was an insult. With undisguised contempt and denunciatory abuse, he[80] pronounced his brother chief to be unfit[81] to be his son-in-law, and dismissed the messengers with insult. When Chokkanâtha heard of the indignity he resolved on immediate war, and ordered the Daḷavâi Vêṅkaṭa Kṛishṇa Nâik,[82] and the treasurer Chinna Thambi Mudali, to set the Madura army in motion. Vêṅkaṭa Kṛishṇa was an able general. His skill had gained, from his master and his contemporaries, the flattering titles of Sugrîva's crown and Savyasâchin. He promptly obeyed his master's mandate, and was in a few days in the confines of the Tanjore kingdom, where the first engagement between the two powers took place. The contest was sanguinary, and "blood ran like water in the channels for irrigation." The Trichinopolitans gained the victory, and were able to push their way into Tanjore. When within a few miles of the capital, they came into collision, for a second time, with an army despached by Vijaya Râghava. Many interesting and singular facts are narrated in connection with this battle, which give us an excellent idea of the warfare of those days. The Telugu chronicle, *Record of the Affairs of the Carnatic Gover-*

80 Vijaya Raghava would have, according to one version, consented for the marriage; but he was deterred from doing so by an evil counsellor, the Daḷavai Rangappa Naik, who had his own motive for thus acting. He wished to marry the princess to his son, Ranganatha, and to divert the crown through her, to his own family. With this view, we are told, he had already secured the imprisonment of the right heir, Mannâru Naidu by accusing him before the king of an abandoned life. In dissuading his master from listening to Chokkanâtha's proposal, he proceeded in a cautious and effective manner by provoking by enormous personal vanity of his master. He pointed out how Tirumâl Nâik had stabbed his betrothed a Tanjore princess, for her playful remark that his buildings were like the drainage works of her father, and how such a brutal family was hardly worthy of a marriage alliance. He is also said to have bribed Gôvinda Dîkshita, Vijaya Ragava's minister, to tell the king that he, a Vaishṇava, could not properly form an alliance with the Saivite line of Madura. There are many improbabilities in this version, however: First, there is no evidence whatever to prove that Tirumâl stabbed a Tanjore princess, though there is evidence of such a marriage. (See Wheeler's *Hist.* Vol. IV, pt. II, p. 577) where Wheeler describes the wedding ceremonies). Secondly, Govinda Dikshita was evidently not Vijaya Râghava's minister. Thirdly, even if Govinda had lived he would not have belittled his own deity Śiva.

81 Manucci, *Storia do Mogor* III, p. 103-5. As usual Manucci is very inaccurate and unreliable. His version of the "Tanjore prince" (he gives neither the name of Chokkanâtha nor of Vijaya Râghava) is most disparaging, and differs entirely from other accounts. See Note p. 15.

82 According to Manucci he proceeded in person.

nors describes in detail the means adopted by the different parties to secure the defeat of the other. It says that Vijaya Raghava supplemented the martial valour of his army with the magic skill of his *guru*. Alarmed at the continuous defeat of his men, he asked his preceptor, Sôma Chandra Svâmi, to perform such incantations as could completely disable the enemy. Chokkanâtha, we are told, retaliated. His *guru*, Balapriya, was more than a match for Sôma Chandra, and by his counter-incantations, did not only make the Tanjorean devices harmless, but prepared the way for the desertion of the Tanjore troops at the nick of time. *Lakhs* and *lakhs* of pumpkins, we are informed, were made the subjects of incantations,[83] and cast into the Kâveri, so that those who drank of the waters impregnated with them, were sure to desert for the Trichinopoly ranks. In the midst of the war of magic, the two armies joined battle. The Tanjoreans, once again, suffered defeat and retreated into their own fort.

Vênkaṭa Kṛishna pursued the retreating forces and was soon in the vicinity of Tanjore. From his camp he sent word to Vijaya Râghava offering his withdrawal in case he consented to the marriage. A haughty challenge to arms was the answer. The Daḷavai thereupon gave orders for the assault. The Tanjore fort was well guarded by 20,000 musketeers and a powerful army, but the besiegers were undaunted. They mounted their cannon[84] on raised earth-works and discharged against the fort some tens of thousands of cannon shot. The defending troops were not able to sustain the infliction, and hundreds deserted their ranks, and joined the standards of Trichinopoly. The gates of the fort were then demolished, the ditches filled up with vast quantities of fascines; and then the place was taken by storm, some ascending the breaches made by the cannon shot, and some going in by the gates.

Immediately after his entrance into the city, Vênkaṭa Kṛishṇa sent a second message of friendship and warning to the Tanjore monarch. The latter was, we are told, all this while engaged in the worship of his god. Entirely oblivious of the fatal events going on outside his city, he wasted his time in meditation and prayer from which no amount of

83 The *Record of the Carn. Govrs.* Many similar examples of resort to magic in assistance to the sword can be cited from Indian History. Tippoo, for instance, in spite of his bigotry, organized a *japan* for securing victory against the English. It was performed for four periods of 12 days each. Scores of Brahmans abstained from salt and condiments promoting digestion and took simple milk and rice during this period. Thus prepared, a detachment of the corps frequently relieved, stood in a rank up to their chests in water, beating it incessantly with their hands and bawling out their *mantras* or incantations. This is also done during a time of drought in the state of Mysore. The same thing was done in the campaign which resulted into the two retreats of Lord Cornwallis from Seringapatam, and the Brahmans attributed his failure to their *mantras*. The *mantras*, however failed to save the capital from General Harris; and this was ascribed by the Brahmans, not to the inefficiency of the *mantras* themselves, but to some mistakes in the mysteries and to the fact that some of the Brahmans had tasted of salt Muhammad Ali once spent £5,000, through one Achena Pandit, on a *jebbam* at the temple of Pakshijirta, S. of Madras, in order to kill Lord Pigot, and it, we are told, succeeded; and a similar incantation, after several failures, killed Haidar Ali. The *mantra* for killing particular persons was generally uttered after suspending a cobra by the tail from the roof of an apartment, and proper incense being burned on a fire immediately below. This is the celebrated *saro yagam*. Wilks gives the story of Haji who claimed one lakh of rupees from Umdatu'l-umra for killing, his usurping younger brother Amiru'l-umra. See Wilks *Mysore*, I. pp. 445-446. In Malabar especially, magic was largely used for political purposes. See the *Mantravâdoms* of *Malabar* by V. Nagamaiya in *Christ. Coll. Maga.*; Vol X pp. 82-92 and 158-166.

84 The detailed consideration of the artillery and weapons of war is made in chapter XI.

chose in imitation of Kṛishṇa, the Lord of the Gopis! Meanwhile, "the enemy, came and attacked the city. In order not to be made prisoner and be disgraced, the king decided to die bravely. He came out with 3 sons and 18 horsemen, his relations, bearing on his horse's hindquarters his beloved queen. She, at the approach of the enemy's mighty force, felt afraid, and spoke tender words to her husband, saying that as evil chance was so great a tyrant as to rob her of further delight in his society, she prayed to him to end her life with his own hand, so that she might not fall into the enemy's power." The king could not, in spite of her repeated supplications, steel himself to such cruelty. "Still, the arguments of the afflicted and determined princess were so strong that, finding the enemy already close upon them, he was forced at length to yield to her entreaties. Seizing his sword, he cut off her head, and, his blade all bare and crimson, galloped into the enemy's ranks, followed by his companions, and in a brief space ended his life."

It is unnecessary to enter into a criticism of these fables. It is enough if it is understood that all agree that the Nâik Dynasty of Tanjore ended on this occasion, and that with it, a highly romantic but tragical chapter of South Indian History. The annals of the world hardly furnish a finer example of a provocation so trivial and a result so disastrous and far reaching. Chokkanâtha himself must have been surprised at the turn the events had taken. When he ordered the invasion of Tanjore, he would hardly have hoped for a result so victorious to his arms, so disastrous to his rival, and so momentous in the history of South India. Wars without number had disturbed the peace and maintained the mutual hostility of the sister kingdoms; but never had any of them been attended with a consequence as startling as this. The lessons of past history, in short, proved unreliable, and the satisfaction of Chokkanâtha at the success of his arms and the acquisition of a dependency must have been mingled with a regret for the fate of a worthy, though misguided, monarch and the sudden termination of a dynasty in the midst of a prosperous and hopeful career. The effect of the catastrophe is felt even to-day. Any stranger who visits the palace at Tanjore can see a ruined and shattered tower at northern-western corner, and will feel a shudder at the sight, when he knows that that is the remnant of the ancient Nàik Zenana. If it had a mouth of its own, it could tell a tale which, though it concerns an eccentric king, is yet a tale which does not belong to one particular man or country, but for all the world that can feel and pity. The ignorant and superstitious servant who guides the visitor through the rambling building of the palace, points to the lonely and gloomy tower, and speaks with a suppressed voice and solemn face, of the gruesome tragedy enacted therein 200 years back. The place is haunted, says he, and none dare approach it lest a contagion of the gloom that surrounds it should seize them.

Aḷagiri's defection.

The Kingdom of Tanjore was now a dependency, an outlying province, of Madura, and Chokkanâtha lost no time in arranging for a settled and satisfactory government of it; but unfortunately the arrangement he made was not such as to strengthen his hold on the conquered kingdom. He dug the grave of his own authority by appointing as viceroy a foster-brother of his, Aḷagiri Nâiḍu by name, a man of ungrateful nature and unscrupulous conduct, who like a true upstart, assumed airs and proved a tyrant. A few months after his exaltation to his high office, Aḷagiri addressed a letter to his suzerain in terms of equality and in the spirit of an independent chief. He at the same

time ceased the remission of the surplus revenues :[90] and when Chokkanâtha remonstrated and warned, he pleaded with a hypocritical ignorance of the change of circumstances, that he only adopted the precedent of the old Tanjore monarchs. The indignation of Chokkanâtha at once ordered the punishment of the traitor; but the Daḷavâi and the other ministers met in council, and after some deliberation regarding the course to be pursued, came to the conclusion that, as Aḷagiri's position was far stronger than that of Vijaya Râhgava, it would be more advisable to be cautious and conciliatory. They therefore counselled their master to suppress his indignation and postpone the punitive expedition, till "the devices of Sâma, Dâna and Bhêda were tried," and found futile.

If Aḷagiri Nâik escaped the chastisement of his master, he did not escape from the fruits of his own behaviour. He seems to have been a tactless and imprudent ruler, entirely unable to conciliate the conquered. His avarice seized the estates of great men, and his arbitrary temper dismissed several men of eminence from their offices. A man who suffered much in this regime was the celebrated Veṅkaṇṇa, the Râyasam, of the last Nâik king. Endowed by nature with an extraordinary amount of ability, tact and perseverance, Veṅkaṇṇa entertained the bold design of subverting the new dynasty and restoring that of his master.

(To be continued.)

MISCELLANEA.

BANABHATTA'S GURU.

IN the *Kâdambarî* verse 4 of the introduction runs "नमामि भर्त्श्चरणाम्बुजद्वयं सशेखरैर्मौखरिभि: कृतार्चनम् ।." Hitherto भर्त्वो: was taken by most scholars as the 6th case dual of भरु: meaning Vishṇu and Siva. This explanation is obviously erroneous, for Bâṇa has already saluted both Vishṇu and Śiva in *vs.* 2-3. Besides, it is most unlikely that भरु means a dual-god with only *two* feet between them. According to मेदिनी the word has a meaning Śiva; but the fact of being "worshipped by the Maukharis and their feudatories" is conclusive against the word signifying any non-human being, whose greatness becomes only circumscribed by such an epithet. Moreover the line सशेखरैर्मौखरिभि: कृतार्चनम् has an exact parallel in the line अनेकगुप्तार्चितपादपङ्कज: of verse 10, where Bâṇa's own ancestor कुबेर is described as being worshipped by the Guptas. It is thus clear that the commentator भानुचंद्र alone is right when he says 'भत्सुरिति गुरोर्नाम'. भर्त्सु or भत्सु as भानुचंद्र reads was then the *guru* of Bâṇabhaṭṭa and was presumably the spiritual guide of the great Maukharis. It is also probable that भर्त्सु was Bâṇa's teacher on poetry, for he is perhaps to be identified with a poet of the same name, who has been quoted in several anthologies[1] and whose antiquity is ensured by the fact that the verse आहूतोपि सहायै: found under his name in two of the anthologies, is quoted in the *Dhvanyâloka* (p. 38). अभिनवगुप्त in his comment on the verse says 'शीतकृतार्तिरत्रहेतुरिति भट्टोद्भट:' showing that the verse was quoted even earlier in an unknown work of भट्टोद्भट, who lived *Circa* 800 A. D.

D. C. BHATTACHARYA.

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[90] *Rec. of the Carn. Govrs.* and *Tanj. Raj. Charit.*

[1] *Vide* Peterson's Introduction to *Subhâshitâvali* under Bhaśchu. Altogether 4 verses are there collected, to which we should add another from *Sûktimuktâvali* beginning with गौरीविभ्रमभूपभूमपटल-द्वाणायमानोदरा :—Bhandarkar's *Sixth Report*, App.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

NOTES FROM OLD FACTORY RECORDS.

2. Interpreter as Shipping Clerk.

26 *August* 1662, Consultation in Surat. A Proposition was made by the President [Matthew Andrews] in the Behalfe of Ranchore Metta [Ranch Mehtâ], a person Employed on the Marine for freighting of shipps, and receiving in the Money, being very useful also in the lading and unlading of Goods, and Writing our Persian Letters, whose great care and diligence, with his Constant Attendance on the Companys Affaires for these 3 yeares past being well knowne to this Council, The President mooved, that hee might have a salary of 300 Mamoodoes [*mahmûdis*= Rs. 150] Yearly allowed him, to commence from the 1st of September 1659, which was joyntly Concluded. (*Factory Records, Surat,* Vol. 2)

R. C. T.

BOOK NOTICE.

HISTORY OF AURANGZIB, Vol. III. By Professor JADU NATH SARKAR, M. A. Published by M. C. Sarkar and Sons, 75-1-1, Harrison Road, Calcutta, 1916.

THE third volume of Professor Sarkar's *History of Aurangzib* deals with the first half (1658-81) of that monarch's reign. Among the new sources of information utilised for this volume (beside those quoted at the end of volume II) the most important are:—*Mir'ât-i-Aḥmadi* (History of Gujrat), Muḥammad Â'ẓam's *Târîkh-i-Kashmîr*, Salimu'llah's *Tawârîkh-i-Bangala*, Muḥammad Ṣâlih's *Bahâr-i-Sakhun*, Izad Bakhsh Rasâ's *Riyaḍu-l-Widâd*, *Nigâr Nâmah-i-Munshi*, Chandar Bhan's *Chhâr Chaman-i-Brahman*, Chatar Man's *Chhâr Gulshan*, *Dawâbiṭ-i-'Âlamgîrî*, and *Dastûru-l-'Amal.*

The author has succeeded in gathering an epoch-making collection of material for his subject, and he has taken great pains to collate the evidence of writers of different creeds and nationalities; but the result in some cases is disappointing and, speaking critically, there is a lack of balanced judgment and correct historical perspective in the work. So far as the narration of undisputed facts is concerned Professor Sarkar may be followed implicitly: but in his discussions of subtle questions of state policy and religious dogma it is clear that he does not weigh the various aspects of the problem, and so the picture of events, as we get it in the book, is distorted. For instance, when speaking of Aurangzeb's bigotry, Professor Sarkar freely condemns the policy of the previous rulers also. He says: "With every generous instinct of the soul crushed out of them, with intellectual culture merely adding a keen edge to their sense of humiliation, the Hindus could not be expected to produce the utmost of which they were capable; their lot was to be hewers of wood and drawers of water to their masters, to bring grist to the fiscal mill, to develop a low cunning and flattery as the only means of saving what they could of the fruits of their own labour . . . . The barrenness of the Hindu intellect and the meanness of spirit of the Hindu upper classes are the greatest condemnations of Muhammadan rule in India". Surely this is harsh judgment, especially when one remembers the liberal policy of Akbar, and of Jahângîr and Shâhjahân.

Again, when Professor Sarkar undertakes to pronounce against the tenets of Islam, a task for which he is by no means competent, he places himself at the point of ridicule. "It is not necessary" he says, "that he (Muslim) should tame his own passions or mortify his flesh; it is not necessary for him to grow a rich growth of spirituality. He has to slay a certain class of his fellow beings or plunder their lands and wealth and this act in itself would raise his soul to heaven". It is very evident here that Professor Sarkar has just arrived at 'fresh fields and pastures new'. An author who knows his limitations no better than that cannot expect to receive serious attention from his readers.

There are several mistakes in spelling Arabic and Persian terms, *e. g. Jizya* has been spelt *Jaziya*, etc.

G YAZDANI.



THE BOAR INCARNATION — VARĀHĀVATARA

Plate I MAHABALIPUR



THE ANTIQUITIES OF MAHABALIPUR.

BY PROFESSOR S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR AVL., M.A.; MADRAS UNIVERSITY

(*Continued from p. 57.*)

PLATE IV gives a view of the stele representing the boar incarnation (*varâhavatâra*) of Vishṇu. This is in a cave a little to the south of the Gaṇêśa Ratha. The relief exhibits the man-boar according to the Vaikânasa Âgama. Of the three kinds of boar form, this is what is called the Âdivarâha type. This must be exhibited with four hands, two of them carrying the conch and the disc, the colour grass-green, left foot planted upon the hooded head of the king of serpents (*śêsha*).

The figure of Bhûvarâha should have, according to the *Vaikanasâgama*, the face of a boar in association with the body of a man. It has four arms two of which hold the *śankha* and *chakra* as usual. The right leg should be slightly bent and be made to rest upon the jewelled hood of the mythical serpent Âdiśêsha who must be sculptured as in company with his wife. Of the remaining two hands, the left hand should be shown as supporting the legs of Bhûmidêvi, seated on the god's bent right leg with her own legs hanging down, while the right hand has to be thrown round the waist of the same goddess. The boar face of the god should be slightly tilted up so as to make the muzzle approach the bosom of the goddess as though he is engaged in smelling her.[1] The colour of the image of Varâha-Vishṇu is represented by the darkness of the twilight. The associated figure of Bhûmidêvi should have her hands in the *añjali* attitude. She should be decked with flowers and dressed in clothes and should be adorned with all suitable ornaments. Her complexion has to be black. Her face should be slightly lifted up and turned towards her lord, and should be expressive of shyness and joy. The top of her head should reach the chest of the figure of Varaha, and her image should be made in accordance with the *pañchatâla* measure. Such is the description given in the *Vaikhânasâgama*. (Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao's *Hindu Iconography*, p. 132-3).

The Tṛvikrama panel in the same cave. The image of Tṛvikrama may be sculptured, it is said, in three different ways, namely, with the left foot raised up to the level of the (1) right knee, or (2) to the navel, or (3) the forehead. These three varieties are obviously intended to represent Tṛvikrama as striding over the earth, the mid-world and the heaven-world respectively, and are all exemplified in sculptures also. The image of Tṛvikrama, with the left foot lifted up only to the level of the right knee is, however, rarely met with among available pieces of sculpture. The rule is that Tṛvikrama images should be worked out in accordance with the *uttamadaśa-tâla* measure, and their total height should be 124 *angulas*. Tṛvikrama should have either four or eight hands. If there be only four arms, one of the right hands should be made to hold the *śankha* and one of the left hands the *chakra*; or it may even be that the left hand carries the *chakra* and the right hand the *śankha*. The other right hand should be held up with the palm upwards and the other left hand stretched out parallel to the uplifted leg; or this right hand may be in the *abhaya* or the *varada* pose. On the other hand, if Tṛvikrama is sculptured with eight arms, five of the hands should carry the *śankha, chakra, gada, sâṛnga* (bow) and *hala* (plough) the other three being kept as in the previous instance. The

[1] This attitude of amorous dalliance is sometimes described, of course absurdly enough, as playing the baby at the breast.

right leg of Tṛvikrama is to be firmly planted upon the earth; and the left should be used in taking the stride of world-measure. The colour of the image is to be dark as that of the rain-cloud; it should be clothed in red garments and decorated with all ornaments. Behind it there should be sculptured the tree called *kalpaka*, and Indra should be shown holding over Tṛvikrama's head an umbrella. On either side Varuṇa and Vâyu should be made to wave *châmaras*: and over them on the right and the left there should be the figures of Sûrya and Chandra respectively. Near these again there should be seen Sanyasa, Sanaka, Sanatkumâra. Brahma shou'd be made to take hold of the uplifted foot of the Tṛvikrama with one of his hands and wash it with water flowing from a *kamandalu* held in the other hand; and the water flowing down from the washed foot of Tṛvikrama should be shown as being of a snow-white colour. Śiva should be sculptured with his hands in the *anjali* pose and as sitting somewhere in space above the height of the navel of Tṛvikrama. Near the leg upon which Tṛvikrama stands, there should be the figure of Namuchi, a *râkshasa*, in the attitude of bowing in reverence to the great god Tṛvikrama. On the left Garuḍa should be shown as taking hold of Śukra, the *guru* of the *râkshasas*, with a view to belabour him for obstructing Bali in giving the gift asked for by the Brahmanical boy Vâmana; on the right Vâmana himself should be made to stand with an umbrella in his hand and ready to receive the promised grant of three feet of space. Near him and opposite to him Bali should be shown as standing golden in hue and adorned with ornaments and carrying in his hands a golden vessel to indicate that he is ready to pour the water ceremonially in proof of his gift. Behind the emperor Bali there should be his queen. Above the head of Tṛvikrama the figure of Jâmbavân should be shown as sounding the drum, called *bhêri* in Sanskrit, so as to exhibit the joy of the celestial beings at their coming delivery from the rule of the *asura* emperor Bali. So says, the *Vaikhânasâgama*. (*Op. cit.*, pp. 164-7)

Plate V represents a huge panel, about eight feet by six feet in size, carved on the north wall of the rock-cut shrine situated to the south of what is called Gaṇêśa Ratha at Mahâbalipuram. In this group of images the central figure is that of Tṛvikrama. It has eight hands; three of the right hands carry the *chakra*, the *gada*, and the *khaḍga*, and the remaining right hand is held up with the palm turned upside, as required by the *Vaikhânasâgama*. Three of the left hands carry the *śankha*, the *kêṭaka*, and *dhanus*, and the fourth left hand is stretched out parallel to the uplifted leg. This leg itself is raised up to the level of the forehead. Near the foot of the leg stretched out to measure the heaven-world, Brahma is shown as seated on a *padmâsana* and as offering with one of his right hands *puja* to that foot. His image is given four hands and is made to wear the *jaṭâ-makuṭa* and *karṇa-kuṇḍalas*. In the corresponding position to the right of Tṛvikrama we see Śiva also seated on a *padmâsana*. His image also has four arms, one of which is held in the pose of praise. It is also adorned with the *jaṭa-makuṭa* and *kuṇḍalas*. Immediately below Śiva is Sûrya, the sun-god, with a halo. The way in which the legs of this god and also of Chandra, the moon-god, are worked out, suggests that they are both residing up in the heavenly world without any terrestrial support. This sun-god has only a pair of hands, both of which he holds stretched out in the act of praising Tṛvikrama. Chandra is sculptured below the shield of Tṛvikrama, with a halo round the head, and is also shown to be in the attitude of praising Tṛvikrama. In the space between the head of Tṛvikrama and Brahma there may be noticed a peculiar figure turned towards Brahma. It has the face of a boar and is made to carry what is



KRISHNA MANTAPA—GOVARDHANA KRISHNA

To face p. 67.

evidently a drum. This figure is obviously that of old Jâmbavân, sounding the drum in joy due to the victory of the Dêvas over the Dânavas. At the foot of Trvikrama sits Namuchi to the right, and the other three figures, that are to be seen, are perhaps representations of Bali and some other prominent *asuras*. There is one other figure shown as if cutting somersaults in the air, and carrying something like a staff in the right hand. It is not possible to say whom this figure is intended to represent. The *Brahmâṇḍa-purâṇa* states that when Vâmana grew to be gigantic in size, and became Trvikrama, some of the Dânavas were hurled up into the air as if by a hurricane. This figure is perhaps one of the Dânavas so tossed up. This piece of sculpture belongs to the seventh century, that is, to the palmy days of Pallava supremacy in Conjeevaram. (*Op. cit.*, pp. 170-2).

These two, as also several others of the figures of gods and goddesses in the locality, conform to the norms of Iconography as laid down in the *Vaikânasâ âgama* and shew marked differences of features from representations of the same icons in other localities and of other ages. This has to be noted carefully, as no conclusion in point of chronology can be drawn from these without regard to the school of architecture or sculpture.

Gôvardhana Krishṇa:—Plate VI represents Krishṇa as carrying the hill Gôvardhana to protect the cowherd settlement of Gôkulam where he was being brought up. When the annual feast intended for Indra, the Vêdic god of rain, came round for celebration, Krishṇa accepted the offerings intended for Indra, and he in anger, rained stone and other destructive material upon the sacrilegeous village. Thereupon Krishṇa performed this feat to save the villagers from the harm and exhibit to the wondering world that what was offered to Krishṇa is as good as offered to all the gods. Architecturally this piece of workmanship is rather crude in comparison with that of Arjuna's penance; but it seems none the less to belong to the same school of art. If it be so, this may be the first work of an artist or the first work of the school the work of which, in an advanced stage of its skill, is exhibited in the other bas-relief. Behind the Krishṇa in this relief, one will notice in the original a young shepherd boy playing upon the flute. This is sufficiently far away to indicate that it represents another of the many aspects of Krishṇa's life. and refutes the theory that Vênugôpâla (young Krishṇa playing on the flute) is not found represented before the 13th century A. D. One stanza of Tirumangai Âḻvâr of the 20 devoted to this place seems specifically to refer to this relief.[18]

Mahishâsuramardhani:—The goddess Durgâ should have ten hands according to the *Śilparatna*, which describes her further as having three eyes; she should wear on her head a *jaṭa-makuṭa* and in it there should be the *chandra-kalâ* or the digit of the moon. The colour of her body should be like that of the *atasi* flower, and the eyes should resemble the *nîlôtpala* or the blue lily; she should have high breasts and a thin waist and there should be three bends in her body (of the *tribhanga* variety). In her right hands she should carry the *triśûla, khaḍga, śaktyâyudha, chakra*. and a stringed bow; and in the left hands the *pâśa, ankuśa, kêṭaka, paraśu,* and a bell. At her feet should lie a buffalo with its head cut off and with blood gushing from its neck. From within this neck should be visible the half-emerged real *asura* bound down by the *nâga-pâśa* of the Dêvi. The *asura* should be made to carry a sword and a shield, although the Dêvi has already plunged her *triśûla* into his neck and he is bleeding profusely. He should have a terrific look with knitted eye-brows. The right leg of the Dêvi should be placed on the back of her lion and her left leg should touch the buffalo-body of Mahishâsura.

[18] *Periya Tirumaḷi*, II. V. 4.

The *Vishṇudharmôttara*, as quoted in the *Vâchaspatya*, describes Mahishâsuramardhani under the name of Chaṇḍikâ thus :—This Dêvi has the complexion of gold and is a very handsome youthful woman in an angry mood, sitting on the back of a lion. She has twenty hands; the right ones carry, respectively, the *śûla, khaḍga, śankha, chakra, bâṇa, śakti, vajra, abhaya, ḍamaru,* and an umbrella; while the left ones are seen to hold the *nâga-pâśa, khêṭaka, paraśu, ankuśa, dhanus, ghanṭa, dhvajagada,* a mirror and the *muḍgara.* The buffalo-part of the *asura* is lying decapitated with the real *asura* proceeding out from the neck. His eyes, hair and brows are red and he vomits blood from his mouth. The lion of the Dêvi mauls him, and the Dêvi herself thrusts the *triśûla* into his neck. The *asura,* who is bound down by the *nâga-pâśa,* carries a sword and a shield.[19] The peculiar feature of the Mahishâsuramardhani here depicted is that the panel exhibits her as pressing back her enemy Andhakâsura in war. At this stage she has a benign aspect and shows nothing of the ferocity in combination with beauty which is usually associated with this aspect of the Goddess Durgâ. (See Plate VII.)

The Shore Temple:--General view, Plate IX. This temple in general view shows a double *vimâna,* both parts shaped exactly alike, but of proportions that seem intended to serve the purpose of shutting off the smaller from view on one side. The shoreward tower is the smaller and seems the older. It has a hole in the middle of the pedestal stone to hold a stone image or *linga.* An image has since been recovered which is of the Sarvatôbhadra [20] type. There is within the shrine a representation of Śiva as Sômaskanda [21] in the central panel.

Beginning at the south end of this little shrine and at the back of it looking towards the sea is what now looks a comparatively dark chamber, holding a large-sized image of Vishṇu *au couchant.* (See plate VIII.)

Then comes the seaward shrine just covering this in front, and of proportions to shut off altogether from view on the seaside both the Vishṇu and Śiva temples above described. This contains a huge *lingam,* with sixteen fluted faces. These three in Chola times were known as Jalaśayana or Kshatriyasimha Pallavêśvaram, Paḷḷikonḍân and Râjasimha Pallavêśvaram, respectively, notwithstanding the statements of the epigraphists to the contrary.

The significance of this will follow :

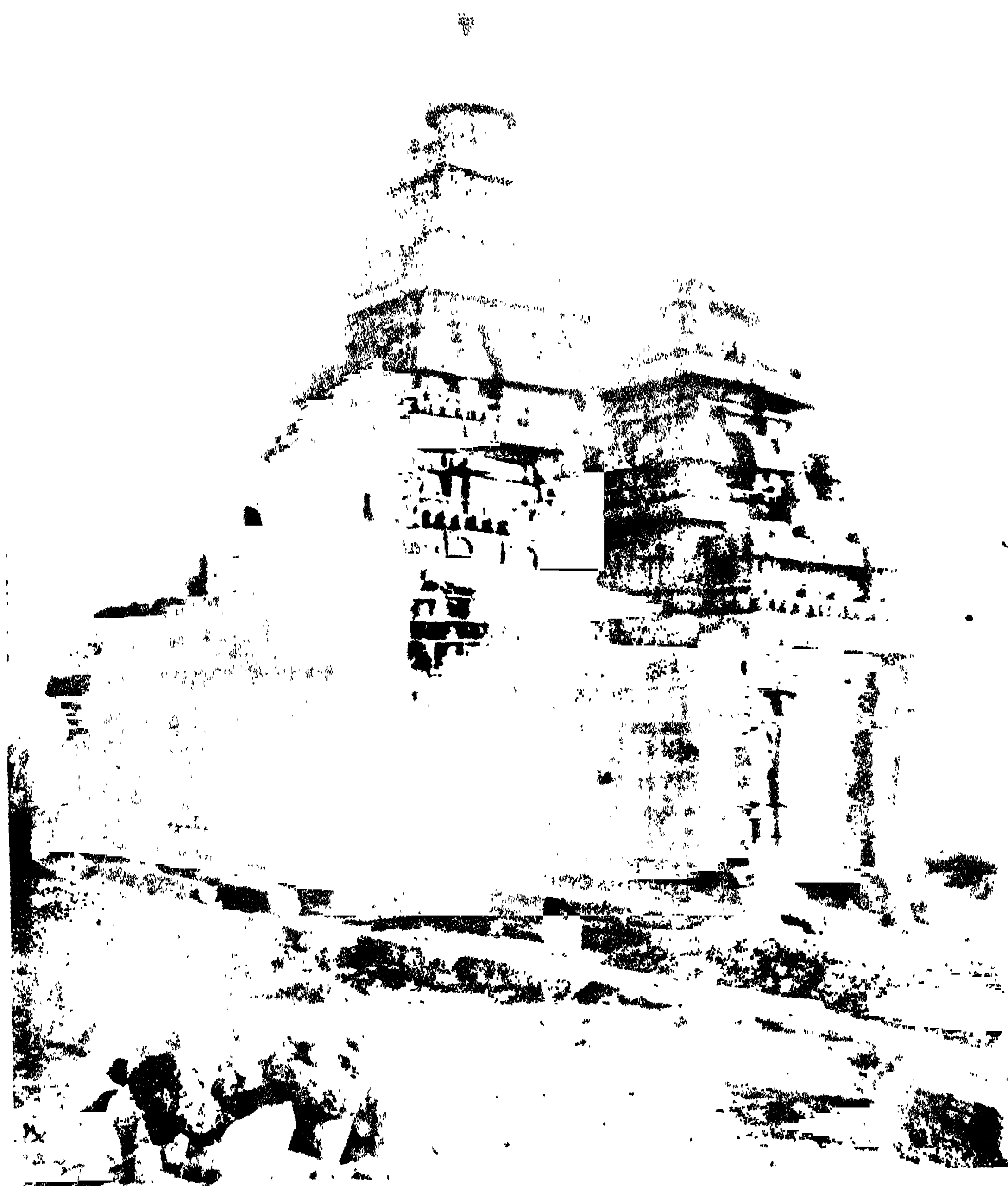
The Atiraṇachanḍêśvara Cave in Sâluvanguppam: plate X. This Aṭiranachanḍa was taken to be Nadivarman, the last great Pallava. It looks, on palæographical grounds, to be a surname of Narasimhavarman II, Râjasimha.

Vishṇu in the lying posture as the Sthala-śayanamûrti: plate VIII. 'This is a recumbent image of Vishṇu with only two hands; about a fourth of the body should be somewhat raised, and the remaining three-fourths should be lying flat upon the serpent bed. The right hand should be placed near the pillow, so as to touch the *kirîṭa*; the other hand, bent at the elbow, should be held in the *kaṭaka* pose. Or, this left hand may be made to be parallel to the body, so as sometimes to touch the thigh. The right leg has to be stretched out, while the left should be slightly bent. The image itself should be adorned with various ornaments. The eyes must be somewhat opened. The colour of the image should be a mixture of black and yellow. By the side of this recumbent figure there should be Bhṛgu and Mârkanḍêya, and near the feet, the demons Madhu and Kaiṭabha, while on the lotus

[19] T. A. G. *Iconography,* p. 357, *et seq.*

[20] A column with four faces, each face with a head of Śiva; the top is surmounted by a head also.

[21] Śiva in the company of his consort Uma and their son Skandha (Subrahmanya).



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THE SHORE TEMPLE
(VIEW FROM NORTH-EAST)

To face p. 68



VARAHAVATARA CAVE.
DURGA ATTACKING MAHISASURA



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ANOTHER PANEL VARĀHA CAVE
NĀRĀYANA-STHALAŚAYANA

To face p. 68.



CAVE-TEMPLE ATIRANACHANDESVARA SALUVANKUPPAM

issuing from the navel there should be Brahma. On the back wall of the shrine and above the level of the image of Vishṇu should be sculptured the images of the Âyudha-purushas, of Garuḍa, of Vishvaksêna, and of the Sapta-rishis, all standing with their hands in the *anjali* pose. On the south wall should be shown Brahma, and on the north wall Siva,—both in the sitting posture. Such a group constitutes the *uttama* class of Yôgaśayanamûrti. If the figures of the Saptarishis and Vishvaksêna are absent, the group belongs to the *madhyama* class; if the Pûjakamunis and Madhu and Kaiṭabha are also absent, it is conceived to belong to the *adhama* class.'[22]

In regard to this Yôgaśayanamûrti in the Shore Temple, some of these features adjunct to such a representation are wanting. The omission is explained away by the tradition that the God was there himself alone and had to exhibit himself to Rishi Punḍarîka in the Yôgaśayana. Therefore the usual adjuncts are wanting. Of course the tradition is kept up in the modern temple, where the name of the goddess is Bhûdêvi (the Earth). This tradition and the name of the goddess indicate some connection between the locality and the Varâhavatâra of Vishṇu. No definite statement of such a connection has so far come to my notice.

The Shore Temple is a feature of the antiquities of Mahâbalipuram which has been a puzzle in Archæology. Being structural, it has been taken for granted that it must have been a late structure, at least later than the rock-cut ones. But material is now available to set these doubts at rest, although more definite light would certainly be welcome. Before proceeding to an explanation, the following facts require to be noticed. The original structures seem to have been the smaller shrine and the Vishṇu chamber behind it with *very probably an apsidal vimânam surmounting the Vishṇu shrine.* As we have it at present, this last is covered in front by the larger shrine facing the sea. (See Plate XI.)

The Chola inscriptions found in Mahâbalipuram published in the *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I, pp. 63-69, go to prove the existence of three shrines (1) Jalaśayana or Kshatriyasimha Pallavêśvaram; (2) Palligon laruḷiyadêva and (3) Râjasimha Pallavêśvaram. According to these inscriptions Mâmallapuram belonged to Âmur Nâḍu of Âmûrkôṭṭam. No. 40 of the *South Indian Inscriptions* uses the name Pudukku ḍaiyân Êkadhîran,[23] Fifty as an alternative name for Âmur Nâḍu. Âmûr, a village near, gives the name both to the larger and the smaller divisions. Reverting to the names given, in these epigraphs, to the shrines we have no doubt about the Palligondaruḷiyadêva. This can refer only to the god on his couch (Vishṇu). The names are not quite as clear in respect of the two others. Jalaśayana-Pallavêśvara can have no direct significance, as there is nothing to connect Jalaśayanam (sleeping on the primeval waters) with Siva. This name can only mean the Pallavêśvara of the place Jalaśayanam, which must have been an anterior name necessarily. This would apply more appropriately to the smaller temple looking shoreward than to the seaward-looking bigger shrine. Even so there is an error in the name, which was according to the almost contemporary authority of **Tirumangai Âḷvâr**, Talaśayanam (Sthalaśayanam) and not Jalaśayanam. The mere proximity to the sea cannot give a shrine this name, and the Siva shrine close to the sea has nothing of *śayanam* (couch) in it, containing as it does only a sixteen-sided prismatic *lingam*.

The Sea-ward Temple seems built with the design to shut off the Vishṇu Temple, which **Tirumangai Âḷvâr** describes as a Vishṇu temple 'where Vishṇu is in the company of

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[22] T. A. G., *Iconography*, pp. 90, &c.

[23] This name or title which means 'the unparallelled hero of the new umbrella' seems intended to designate Nandivarman Pallavamalla. The first word seems to contain a hint that the throne was to him a new acquisition and not one coming in hereditary descent. The Kasakuḍi plates of this Nandivarman call the village under gift by the new name Êkadhîramangalam which was probably in honour of the sovereign regnant. If this interpretation is correct, it is clear that Nandivarman restored the temple to the *status quo ante*. (*S. Ind. Ins.* II. iii. p. 359.)

Śiva, whose proper place is the crematorium.'[24] The Talaśayanam must have got modified into Jalaśayanam by an error and assumed the alternative Kshatriyasimha Pallavêśvaram, if Kshatriyasimha made benefactions to the temple by extending and improving it.[25] Râjasimha Pallavêśvaram must be the sea-ward-looking temple, which is obviously of later construction from its own position. The prismatic *linga* is quite characteristic of Râjasimha's buildings, as a comparative study of Pallava monuments seems to indicate.[26] Râjasimha is further described 'a very pious prince, the illustrious Atyantakâma, the chief of the Pallavas, who crushed the multitude of his foes by his power (or spear), whose great statesmanship was well known, and who had got rid of all impurity (by walking) in the path of the Śaiva doctrine.'[27]

In his zeal for extension for the Śiva shrine he might have consciously thrown the Vishṇu shrine into the shade and might even have destroyed parts of it, as that must have faced the sea from the disposition of the image now, both in the shore-temple and in the more modern temple in the town. The tradition is living yet that this latter was built to house the god, left homeless by the pious vandalism possibly of the Pallava sovereign, it may even be, by his own successor **Nandivarman** who was a Vaishṇava and in whose time **Tirumangai Âḻvâr** probably lived.

Mâmallapuram is not mentioned as a Śaiva holy place by either Sambandar or Appar, who have made hymns upon **Tirukkaḻukkunṟam**; nor even by **Sundaramûrti**, as far as I am at present able to make out. It is not mentioned among the recognised Śaiva centres of worship even now. **Tirumangai Âḻvâr** celebrates it separately in two pieces of ten stanzas each, and makes other references besides. Another of these Âḻvârs, believed to be much anterior to him in time and born in the town itself, refers to the temple. We have already referred to the primitive character of the bas-relief in the Krishṇamaṇṭapam.

It seems, therefore, that before **Narasimhavarman I** took it upon himself to beautify the place with the various rock-cut temples and other works of art, it must have been a place of Vaishṇava worship in some manner connected with one of the oldest Vaishṇava temples in Kanchi. In one of his verses, **Tirumangai Âḻvâr** refers to the god at Mallai, as 'he who was abed in Kachchi.'[28] This may be explained away in a general sense, but the reference seems to be specific, and there is some similarity in regard to the traditions of both. The shrine in Kanchi referred to is that of Yadôktakâri or Veḥkâ, the only temple referred to in the *Perumbâṇâṟṟuppaḍai.* This poem by **Rudran Kaṇṇan** has for its object the celebration of the liberality of **Toṇḍamân**

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24 பிணங்களிடு காடதனுள் நடமாடு பிஞ்ஞகனோடு
இணங்கு திருச்சக்கரத் தெம்பெருமானார்க் கிடம்விசும்பில்
கணங்களி யங்கும்மல்லைக் கடன்மல்லைத் தலசயனம்
வணங்கு மனத்தாரவரை வணங்கென்றன் மடநெஞ்சே.
(*Periya Tirumoḷi.* II. vii. 9.)

25 **Para 9,** ***Epigraphist's Report*** **for 1913.**

26 ***Cf.*** **Râjasimha-Pallavêśvara, the Kailâsanâtha temple at Kanchi.**

27 **Têshâm vaṃśê prasûtât Raṇarasika purôrmmardhâna d (a)gradaṇḍât (*u*)
Subrahmaṇyaḥ kumarô Guha iva Pramâdîśvarâdâtta janma
Śaktikṣuṇṇâri varggo viditabahunaya'ś Śaiva siddhânta margê
Śrîmân Atyantakâmaḥ kshatasakalamalô dhûrddharaḥ Pallavânâm**
(***S. I. I., Vol. I., No.*** **24,** ***verse*** **5).**

28 கச்சிக் கிடந்தவனூர்க் கடன்மல்லைத் தலசயனம்.

I **Iandirayan** of Kanchi, and refers to a time certainly anterior to that of Simhavishṇu, the founder of the great Pallava dynasty, and may go back to the 2nd century A. D. It must be remembered that this Simhavishṇu himself was a Vaishṇava, according to the Udayêndiram plates of **Nandivarman I.**, Pallavamalla,[29] while Râjasimha is described in the same document as a devout worshipper of Siva (Paramamâhêśvara). A Vishṇu temple in the locality seems quite possible, either of sufficient nearness or remoteness in point of time.

Was the place of sufficient importance to deserve this honour before the age of the great Pallavas, specifically before the date of **Narasimhavarman I**, Mahâmalla, whose name stuck on to the place even long after the fall of the dynasty. It is in point to notice here that it is not only the works of the Âḷvârs that call the place Mallai, uniformly the same designation is given to it in the work *Nandikkalambakam*, a Tamil work celebrating the exploits of **Nandivarman**, Victor at Teḷḷâṛu. The age of this monarch is not yet definitely fixed, but he came later, perhaps much later, than **Nandivarman Pallavamalla.** How far back the name Mallai goes we have not the means of deciding, but a coin of Theodosius has been discovered of date A. D. 371-395, which would indicate, although the evidence must be regarded as yet slender, that the place was a port of some importance commercially.[30] A recent article[31] in the *Christian College Magazine* attempts to arrange the genealogy of the Pallavas of Kanchi and takes it to eight generations before **Simhavishṇu**, the father of **Mahêndra**, the monarch who excavated most of the caves of Southern India. If we can take the time occupied by these at about two centuries, this will take us to about A. D. 400 from the known dates of **Narasimha I**. There are three other names to be accommodated perhaps, before we come to Vishṇugôpa of Kanchi, who suffered defeat at the hands of the *'Indian Napoleon'* **Samudragupta**—about A. D. 350. One of these very early Pallavas, Simhavarman, is said, in the Amarâvati Pillar Inscription now in the Madras Museum, to have gone up to the Himalayas to imprint his '*lanchana*' on its face, as symbolical of his universal sovereignty.[32] This is in obvious imitation of the crowned kings of the Tamil land, the Chera, Chola and the Pandya. We have to look for the particular Pandya, Chola and Chera much anterior to his time—whatever that time be.

This would, under all legitimate canons of criticism, bring us to the earlier centuries of the Christian era and the geographical data of the classical writers ought to give us the clue.

We have already noted that the Chinese traveller **Hiuen Thsang** refers both to the capital and the port as if they both had either the same name, or as though they could be regarded as the capital and its port, so intimately connected with each other as to be confounded by even an eminently intelligent foreigner such as the enlightened '*Master of the Laws*' was. Ptolemy, the geographer, writing in the middle of the 2nd century A. D. refers to a port, as well as an interior city, named Malange.[33] The *Periplus*, written about 80 A. D., refers to three ports and marts north of the Kavery; Camara,

[29] Simhavishṇu—the grandfather of Narsimhavarman I, was a devout Vaishṇava. (Udayêndiram Plates, S. I. I., Vol. II, Pt. iii, p. 370) 'Bhaktyârâdhita Vishṇuḥ Simhavishṇuḥ.'

[30] *J. R. A. S.* 1904, pp. 609 and 636.

[31] Vol. for 1913-14, pp. 239-374, by Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Iyer, Assistant Epigraphist.

[32] *S. Ind. Ins.*, Vol. I., p. 27, ll. 33-34.

[33] *Ante*, Vol. XIII, pp. 333 and 368.

Poduka and Malanga.[34] Without going into the details of this geography here, we may take Malanga the port to be the Mahâbalipuram that is at present. The description of Mâvilangai we find in the *Sirupâṇârruppadai* would answer to this very well, as well as in Hiuen Thsang's time, when it was the port of embarkation for Ceylon. The interior[35] Malange was, according to Ptolemey, the capital of Bassarnagos, which, on the analogy of Sorenagos of the same writer, must be the capital of the land of a people Basser, which is a Greek modification of Vêdar or Vêṭṭuvar, who constituted, if not the sole, at least an ntegral part of the population. This possibility requires to be worked up more fully.

It must be noted in this connection, however, that there is a place containing a Pallava cave temple near Tindivanam called, even now, Kilmâvilangai (*i. e.*, East or Lower Mâvilangai). Another Malingi (Kan. for Mâvilangai) in Mysore is called in the 11th century A. D. Iḷainâṭṭu Mâvilangai.[36] These adjuncts to the two names imply the existence of other places of the name in the neighbourhood or about the same region. As far as I am able to make out at present there is no authority for taking Mâvilangai to mean a country as Mr. **Kanakasabhai** has taken it[37]:—the passage of the *Sirupâṇârruppadai* not lending itself to that interpretation. If then the capital and the port bore the same name, there is some reason for the careful Chinese traveller calling the two places by the same name, though different from this one, but well-known in his days. In fact, it is stated that to Ôymânâṭṭu Nalliyakkôḍan, the hero of the *Sirupâṇârruppadai*, belonged the region comprising the cities and fortresses of Âmur, Vêlûr, Eyilpaṭṭinam, Mâvilangai, Kiḍangil, &c., but Kânchi in the same region does not find mention as such. His time, I take it, is intermediate to those of Toṇḍamân Iḷandirayan of Kânchi, and the Vishṇugopa of Kânchi defeated by the famous Samudragupta.

This would take us to the vexed question of the origin of the Pallavas, and whether they were an indigenous dynasty or a dynasty of foreigners. The study of their monuments at Mahâbalipuram makes it quite clear that their civilization at any rate, must have been Brahmanic; their architecture shews clear traces of its indigenous origin. These would support the contention of the *Vishṇu Purâṇa*,[38] that the Pallavas were a race of Kshattriyas, who fell from their high estate by giving up the Vaidic duties enjoined upon them, meaning perhaps that they had become Buddhists. When they come into view in South India, they seem bent upon making amends for their past remissness by an extraordinary amount of zeal for Hinduism. It would seem reasonable to infer that they had as little to do with the Pahlavas or Parthians, as their contemporaries the Châḷukyas had to do with the Seleukians of Asia.

Having come so far, it would seem pertinent to ask the question whether these Pallavas, who present themselves to us through the antiquities of Mahâbalipuram, are the same as those known in the locality from the earliest times, or whether these were new-comers. That these powerful Pallavas of the dynasty of Narasimhavarman were Aryans in culture must now seem clear. There is one particular motive in the buildings of these that strike one as a remarkable feature, and that is the lion-base for the pillars. This, with the maned lion upon their coins, seems to indicate unmistakably that these were the feudatories of the Andhras, who advanced southwards from across the Krishna River, both in the lower and

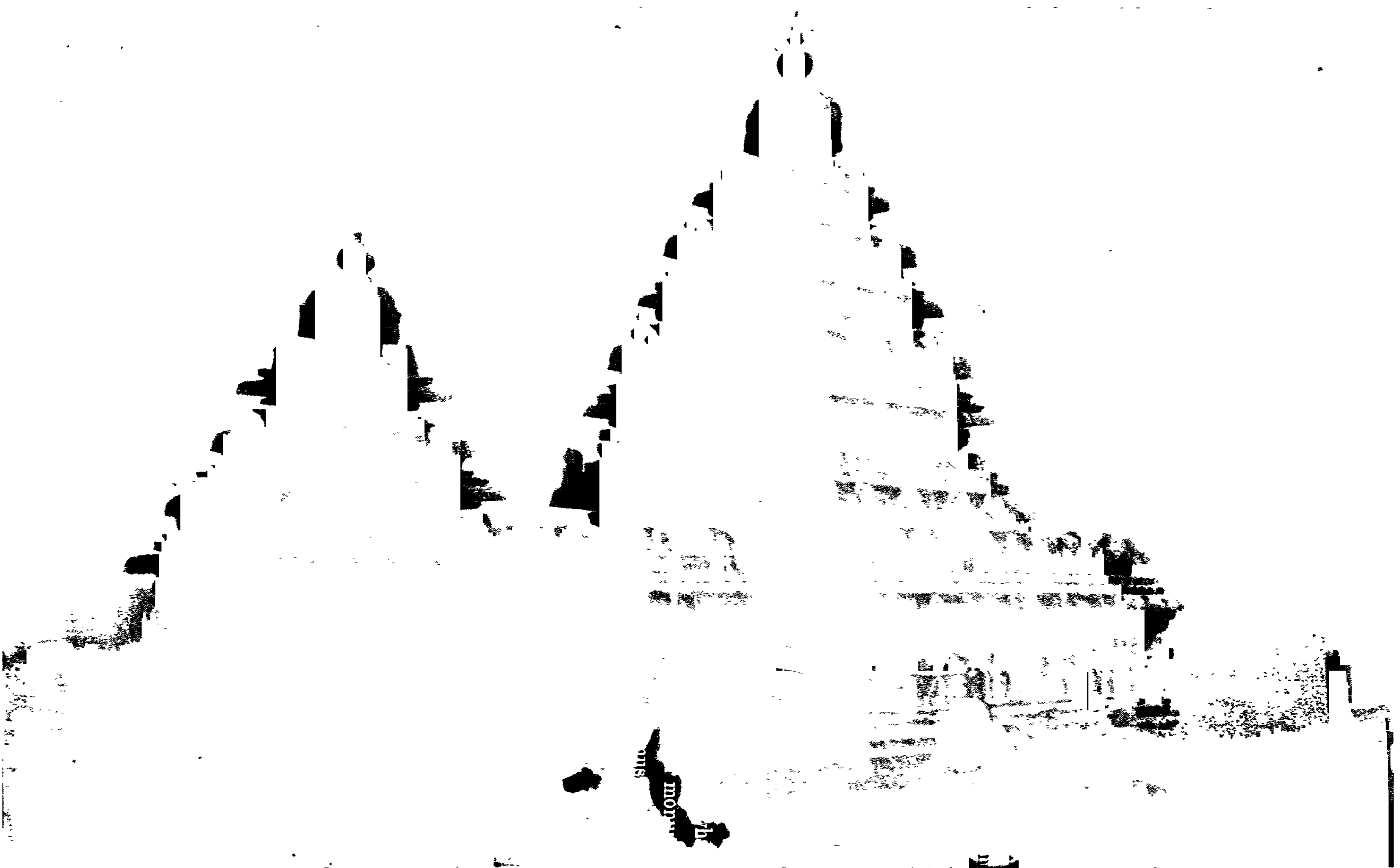
[34] W. Schoff's *Periplus*, p. 46, *Section* 60.

[35] *Pattuppâṭṭu* I S. yer's Edition.

[36] *Epig. Carnâṭaca*, Mysore Pt. I. T. N. 34 and 35.

[37] *The Tamils 1800 Years Ago*,

[38] Bk. III. Ch. iii. Wilson's Translation. Original *ślokas* (15-21).



Madras Arch. Dept.

ANOTHER VIEW OF THE SHORE TEMPLE
(THE VISHNU-SHRINE AS AT PRESENT WITHOUT THE SURMOUNTING DOME)

To face p. 73.

upper part of its course. There seems, therefore, some reason to distinguish between these Pallavas and the Pallavas or Kurumbars of the coins which have for their characteristic device a standing bull. On this subject the following remarks of Professor Rapson seem apposite. "In the same region lived the Kurumbars, a people of considerable importance before the 7th century A. D. Between the coins of these two peoples no accurate discrimination has yet been made. The coins of this region fall into two classes:— (i) Those which in style bear some resemblance to the coins of the Andhras (*e.g.*, E. CSI. Pl II, 55-58, called Kurumbar; and perhaps also *id.* I, 31-38 called Pallava or Kurumbar), and may therefore possibly belong to the same period (2nd and 3rd centuries A. D.). The occurrence of the ship as a reverse type testifies to the foreign trade for which the Pallavas were famous. (2) The other class is of gold and silver and undoubtedly later ; but here again there seems to be no evidence from which to determine the exact date. These coins all bear the Pallava emblem, the maned lion, together with Canarese or Sanskrit inscription.[38]

That the Kurumbars were different from the Pallavas, and that the Pallavas were northerners, seems to find an echo in Tamil literature. There are two or three poems, which are ascribed to different authors, who must be alloted, on very substantial evidence, to the first century, or a little later, of the Christian era. Among them a certain chief by name Nannan had for his territory the region called, in Tamil literature, Pûḻinâḍu [39] round about the region of Cannanore now. One of the hill forts belonging to that chief was called Êḻil Malai (a hill about 18 miles north of Cananore now). That hill-fort had fallen into the possession of the northerners, as the Tamils called them (Vaḍukar), and the territory was recovered by a certain Chola King, by name Ilanjêtchenni, victor at Seruppâḻi or Pāḻi over these northerners (Vaḍukar).[40] The same incident is referred to in connection with the same king in *Puram* 378. That is for the west coast. In regard to the east, the Tamil chief Kâri, ruler of Malai Nâḍu round about Tirukkovilur in the South Arcot District, is said similarly to have beaten back an Aryan force which laid siege to his hill fort of Muḻḻûr.[41] These references in classical Tamil literature make it quite clear, that at the commencement of the Christian era, there was a general forward movement of the northerners (Aryans or Vaḍukar,) into South India which was resisted with all their power by the Tamilians across the whole width of the peninsula. The boast, therefore, of the Pandian ruler, who figures prominently in the *Silappadhikaram*, that he defeated an Aryan army, and the various northern achievements of Senguṭṭuvan seem founded on a basis of fact. The native Kurumbars, therefore, who must have figured in this general opposition, must have been gradually overcome by the invaders and their territory occupied completely by the Pallavas, who figured prominently in South Indian history at least from the commencement of the 4th century A. D. This would satisfactorily account for the hiatus between the Tamilian rulers of Kânchi, generally known as Tonḍaimân, and the later rulers of the same region, usually known by the Sanskrit name Pallava, though this is but a translation of the word Tonḍaimân.

[38] *Indian Coins* by E. J. Rapson, Plate V. 16 and p. 37.

[39] This is also called in Tamil Koṇkânam (Konkan).

[40] Akam 375 or 374 in the Ms. copy in the Govt. MSS. Library at Madras.

[41] *Narrinai* 170.

THE HISTORY OF THE NAIK KINGDOM OF MADURA.

BY V. RANGACHARI, M.A., L.T.; MADRAS.

(*Continued from p.* 63.)

His tyranny and Veṅkaṇṇah's rebellion.

He came to learn that, at the time when the zenana of Vijaya Râghava was about to be destroyed, the queen had handed over a child of 4 years, the only remnant of the family, to a faithful nurse, so that it at least might survive the catastrophe; and that that child, Seṅgamala Dâs by name, was growing up in safe obscurity under the tender care of his foster-mother and of a poor merchant of Negapatam.[91] He therefore proceeded thither, and after a few years' sojourn with the prince, took him, when he reached the age of twelve,[92] to Sikandar Shah (1659-86), the reigning Sultan of Bijapur and the nominal suzerain of South India. He placed before him the pathetic story of Seṅgamala Dâs, and described, we may be certain, in highly coloured and pursuasive language, to what station he had been born, and to what station the vicissitudes of time and the ambition of the Madura Nâiks had reduced him. The astute Brahmin then pleaded for the Sultan's help, promising in return a faithful allegiance on his part. Sikandar was, on his part, readily willing to undertake an expedition, which promised a firmer hold on the South Indian kingdoms. He could not, however, directly take the field, as he had enough trouble with the Mughals; and therefore ordered Ekoji, the second son of his minister Shahji, then in his province of Bangalore, to march with 1200 cavalry and 1000 infantry to the south, and place Seṅgamala Dâs on the throne of his ancestors.

The First Maratha Invasion in favour of Seṅgamala Das.

Thus it was that a Maratha army was, for the first time in Indian History, on its way to the banks of the Kâveri. The necessity of safety and the prudence of statesmanship demanded the relinquishment by Chokkanâtha of petty jealousy, and a cordial co-operation with his vassal. An ample facility[93] for such a behaviour was afforded, at this time, by a repentant and submissive letter from Aḷagiri Nâik. But Chokkanâtha's small mind could not see that the help rendered to Aḷagiri was self-help; that, whatever might be the internal affairs of the kingdom, it ought to present a united front to foreign enemies. Left to his own resources, Aḷagiri met Ekoji at Aiyampet, a village about ten miles from Tanjore and at present a railway station, and in the battle which ensured he sustained such a disastrous defeat that he had not the presence of mind to even defend his capital. He fled to Mysore, and Ekoji seated Seṅgamala Dâs on the throne. The restored monarch paid generous donations to his benefactors. Besides paying the revenues of the Taluks of

[91] It was now a Dutch possession. It was the earliest Portuguese settlement on the Coromandel coast and taken from them by the Dutch in 1660, *i.e.*, immediately after Chokkanâtha's accession. Nelson does not mention the story of the Negapatam merchant, etc.

[92] This is the version given in the *Tanj. Raj. Chari.* It is evident that it implies that the advent of the Marathas took place 12 years after the Madura conquest. Mr. Venkasami Rao, the author of the *Tanjore Manual*, says that Chokkanâtha's conquest must have taken place in 1662 and the Maratha occupation in 1674. Duperron puts it at 1674-5 and Burnell agrees with him. (See *S. Ind. Palæo.*, p. 56 and *Antiquities*, II, p 193.) That Ekoji came south *after* 1670 is clear from the fact that in 1669 (Saumya) he was at Bangalore and made a grant of land for the god Mallikârjuna of Mallapura.—*Mys. Arch. Rep.* 1909, p. 25.

[93] According to Nelson Venkaji had to wait for a year before he was able to take advantage of the unfortunate rupture between Aḷagiri and Chokka, in 1675.

Kumbacôṇam, Pâpanâsam and Mannārguḍi, to meet the expenses of the Bijapur army, he gave a reward of 15 lakhs of pagodas [94] to Ekoji and an equal amount to his followers.

Ekoji's usurpation.

Unfortunately for Seṅgamala Dâs, he had to do at the outset of his reign an act which undid the position he had attained with so much difficulty. A dispute arose as to who should be his minister. Veṅkaṇṇa claimed the dignity as a reward for his past service, but the foster-mother of the prince urged the claims of the merchant who had been a second father to him. Seṅgamala Dâs, much indebted to both, preferred the latter, and so invested him with the dignity and robes of the Daḷavâi. Veṅkaṇṇa was indignant, and with characteristic vindictiveness of temper, vowed to cut down the tree which he himself had reared. He proceeded to the Maratha camp at Kumbakôṇam, and commenced to sow treason in the honest mind of Ekoji.[95] Why could not Ekoji, the brother of the illustrious Sivaji, imitate his brother, depose Seṅgamala Dâs, seize the crown and at the same time cease to pay tribute to his Muhammadan suzerain? Why could he not thus obtain two victories at one stroke? The one was a weak stripling, already grown, like his father, too religious and unworldly to present a stout opposition. The other was an infidel who lived hundreds of miles off and whose enmity was an honour to the Bhonsle family. When the circumstances were so favourable, when providence had smoothed the way to power and to greatness, would it not be folly, would it not be cowardice, to kick the fortune that came voluntarily in his way? Ekoji struggled with his conscience, and resisted the dictates of self-interest for a space of six months. But some time in 1675, the Sultan died, and all fear from above vanished. He therefore succumbed to the counsels of Veṅkaṇṇa, promptly marched to Tanjore, and seized the crown. The unfortunate son of Vijaya Râghava had already abandoned the throne on which he had mounted only a few months back and had gone for refuge to the Polygar of Ariyalur. With the help of the Sêtupati he then tried to win back his crown by force of arms, but failed [96] and lived the rest of his life in obscurity.

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94 From the money and jewels which his father had buried and which his foster-mother now secured.

95 According to Wilks, the views of ambition which Veṅkaṇṇa placed before Ekoji had not been entirely absent from the latter's mind. He points out that the very object of Ekoji's expedition was "a conquest on his own account, but under the ostensible authority of the Government of Vijeyapoor." After the defeat of Madura, continues Wilks, Ekoji demanded an extravagant war indemnity from Tanjore, quarrelled with its king on that account, accused him of treachery and seized the kingdom. *See* Wilks I, 49.

96 The story is that he took refuge with the Toṇḍamân of Pudukkôṭṭai, and lived there. He had later on the satisfaction to see his grand-daughters by his son (Vijaya Mannâru Nâiḍu) married to the king of Ceylon and his grandson Vijaya Râghavulu adopted by that king, as he was childless. See *Tanj-Raj-Chari.* for details. The *Śiṅgaḷadvîpakatha* also mentions these marriages. After the fall of the dynasty the Madura dynasty, besides others, gave some grants for the maintenance of the unfortunate family. At the time when the *Tanjavurvaru Charitram* was written, a member was living at Jambukêśvaram. See *Tanjore Manual*, p. 758.

Ekoji's raid into the Madura kingdom.

The Maratha conquest of Tanjore was followed by the Maratha invasion of Madura. To the ambition of Ekoji the acquisition of a tract of territory was an incentive to further acquisition. The spoils of Tanjore inspired therefore a longing for the spoils of Trichinopoly. Great as the mutual enmity of the Nâiks had been, they had belonged to the same nationality, and had some sympathy towards each other. They had been, moreover, equally strong and equally weak, and none could thoroughly beat the other. Very different was the case with the Marathas. The occupation of Tanjore was in their eyes, a step to the occupation of the other parts of South India. It is not surprising, therefore, that immediately after the pacification of Tanjore, Ekoji marched against Trichinopoly. The vigilance of Chokkanâtha, however, frustrated his attempt. He therefore diverted his forces on the people.[97] The ravages of the Marathas were not less destructive than the hostilities exercised by the Muhammadans. Without making the least endeavour to varnish their proceedings with the colour of fairness or moderation, they stained every moment of their invasion by acts of cruelty and rapine, which made the atrocity of the Muhammadans mildness itself. The masses were harassed by a repetition of claims, plunders and inroads. The sword of destruction was unsheathed on the peaceful villagers, and all limit was transcended in the demand of the surrender of their riches.

The Mysore conquest of the North-west.

The irruption of the Marathas was, however, only one of the causes which afflicted the kingdom of Madura at this time. Early in 1676 an army[98] of Mysoreans descended, on a sudden, from their mountains and seized at one blow the whole province of Satyamaṅgalam. The soul of this movement was king Chikka Dêva[99] (1672-1704), the successor of Dêva Raja, a king of singular valour and ambition. Inspired by him, we are told, his general, Arasumalai, promptly accomplished his purpose, and carrying everything before him, reached Madura itself and captured it. We do not know whether this was the fact, but there is no question that the whole kingdom between the frontier passes leading to Mysore and Coimbatore was now under the occupation of the Mysoreans,[100] as an inscription at Davaḷagiri (near Satyamaṅgalam) dated 1676 (Naḷa) testifies. The Mysoreans, we are told, followed up their success with an attack on their Maratha rivals on the one hand and the city of Trichinopoly, the only remnant of Chokkanâtha's kingdom, on the other. An inscription of Chikka Dêva[1], dated 1674, distinctly claims that he vanquished "Sambhu, Kutapa Sahu-Basava of Ikkêre, Ekoji, Dadôji, Jaitaji and Jasavant."

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97 Nelson's *Madur. Man.*

98 Wilks does not refer to this in detail. The date he gives also seems to be very late. See his *Mysore*, I, p. 58. That Chikka Dêva began his southward movement even earlier seems to be demonstrated by the fact that his Daḷavâi Kumâra Râya built an anicut at Bêlûr, 10 miles south of Hosur, in 1673. See *Antiquities*, I.; 194.

99 For the circumstances of Chikka Dêva's accession, his dealings with the Ellandur Pandit, his early reforms in the administration, his conversion to Vaishṇavism at the instance of Tirumalaiyaṅgâr. *see* Wilks I, 53-56.

100 Inscns. 201 and 209 of 1909. *Vide Madr. Ep. Rep.* 1910, p. 116.

1 See *Mys. Ep. Rep.* 1915, p. 57.

The advent of Sivaji.

And as if these troubles were not enough, Providence sent into the ruined kingdom a third scourge. In 1677 the great Maratha Sivaji, whose career the Sultans of Bijapur and the Great Mughal had in vain tried to check, marched to the Southern Carnatic. Ostensibly he came to acquire from his brother Ekoji half of the Tanjore *jaghir* and of his father's property.[2] In reality, his object was to bring the Carnatic under the Maratha supremacy in place of Bijapur sovereignty. With characteristic duplicity, he came as the ally and servant of Golkonda, saying that the benefit of his conquests would go to that State. Like a dexterous falcon he fell on the disunited inters of the Carnatic and swept them[3] off. He first seized the important fortress of Gingi[4], the headquarters of the Bijapur Viceroyalty, by treachery, and conquered the whole country down to the Coleroon. Organising this into a Maratha province with Gingi as capital, he took steps to exact the allegiance of the southern kingdoms. It is difficult to describe clearly the movements of Sivaji after this. The authorities are so contradictory and confusing. The version of Duff is this. Sivaji's object was to make his brother, Ekoji, acknowledge his supremacy and pay half of his revenues. Ekoji, as shrewd and greedy as his brother, had anticipated this, and approached Chokkanâtha with an offer of alliance, both offensive and defensive. The ruler of Trichinopoly agreed, and the alliance was concluded. But, at this stage, we are told, the skilful diplomacy[5] of Sivaji broke the league. He sent his agent Raghunatha Nârâyan to Trichinopoly, and persuaded Chokkanâtha, by arguments, of the nature of which we are unaware and unable to ascertain, to withdraw from his recent agreement. Disappointed and sulky, Ekoji had now no other alternative than to agree to an interview with his brother for discussing the questions of dispute. The interview took place on the northern banks of the Coleroon. "Sivajee received him kindly, but failed, in spite of his earnest representations, to persuade him to his views." He "at first thought of making him a prisoner, and compelling him to give up half of Tanjore, of the *jaghir* districts, and of the money and jewels"; but on further consideration felt that such an act was inconsistent with his own character as a brother and a prince. He therefore permitted him to turn[6] to Tanjore. Sivaji however did not keep quiet. He frequently pressed his brother with his demands. He at the same time took by force his *jaghir* districts in Mysore. Venkaji was still obstinate. Leaving therefore his half-brother Santaji to look after his conquests and to subdue Ekoji by arms, Sivaji returned to the Maharashtra,

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[2] Duff's *Mahratt'as*, I.

[3] For the alarm which the advent of Sivaji caused among the English in Madras, see Wheeler's *Early Rec. Brit. Ind.* p. 73; his *History, IV*, p. 371. Wilks I, p. 51. For the real objects of Sivaji, *see* Grant Duff and Wilks; Ferishta's *Deccan* II, p. 31.

[4] *S. Arcot. Gazr.*, p. 350: Duff, I, p 278; Wilks I, p. 51.; Scott, II, 31.

Thus there came into existence "the Moghul Carnatic" in place of the old Golkonda Carnatic, and the Maratha Carnatic in place of Bijapur's. The Marathas, however, encroached into the Mughal Carnatic, and the feudatories there were as much interested in conciliating the Marathas as the Mughals. The attitude and policy of the English illustrates this best. *See* Wheeler's *Early Rec.* p. 98.

[5] Duff, I, p. 277. The Bondela officer, it is curious, does not mention this. He says that Sivaji met his brother 'Angojee' at Gingi, and not on the banks of the Coleroon as Duff says. It was from Gingi that Ekoji fled to Tanjore. *See* Scott's *Dekkan* II, p. 32.

[6] *Ibid., cf.* the Bondela officer's account given above.

where the pressure of Mughal ravages required his presence. Immediately after his return, Ekoji attacked Santaji, only to be repulsed. This aggression brought forth a long letter of rebuke from Sivaji, which reconciled Venkaji to the payment of tribute in return for the restoration of the *jaghir* districts.

The account of Wilks[7] is slightly different. He agrees with Duff in regard to the alliance between Chokkanâtha and Ekoji and its breach by the embassy of Raghunatha Narayan, but differs in the representation of affairs at the interview between the two brothers. Sivaji, he says, was so inimical that Ekoji spied danger and imprisonment, and so escaped during night to Tanjore and recommenced hostilities. Sivaji soon left for the north, and his general Santaji, who was left behind, eventually succeeded in inflicting such a crushing defeat on Ekoji that, early in 1678, he concluded peace.

Chokkanâtha and Ekoji.

Both the authorities thus agree in attributing the pacific attitude of Ekoji in 1678 to purely Maratha affairs. But Nelson[8] gives a different version, which clearly attributes it to the activities of Chokkanâtha. Nelson does not mention the Tanjore-Madura alliance, which had preceded the interview between Sivaji and Ekoji. He is unaware of the part played by Madura then. His account of the relations between the Maratha brothers is also different. He says that the obstinacy of Ekoji so much exasperated his brother during their interview that he actually seized him and put him in prison; that the latter escaped by swimming across the Coleroon, and reached his kingdom; that the floods of the Coleroon prevented Sivaji from the pursuit of his brother; and that he therefore left the command of his troops and the charge of the newly conquered province in the hands of his brother Santaji, and proceeded home, leaving a chain of military posts all along the line of the road through Mysore. The floods subsiding, he continues, Santaji crossed the river and meeting the forces of Ekoji on the route to Tanjore, gained, with his superior strategy, a victory which laid the Southern Maratha capital open to his advance.[9] It seems that at this stage, Chokkanâtha Naik approached Santaji with the offer of tribute, money and men, in case he was placed in possession of Tanjore. It was a very clever move, and if attended with success, would have restored the political condition of the South to what it was before the ill-fated defection of Aḷagiri Nâiḍu and the ominous restoration of the unfortunate Seṅgamala Dâs. But in his eagerness for diplomacy he forgot the character of Ekoji. The shrewd Maratha saw that affairs were taking a serious turn, and so prudently submitted, early in 1678, to his brother's general. He never forgot the capacity or inclination of Chokkanâtha to do mischief. To ambition he now added the feeling of revenge, and from this time onward always carried on raids into the kingdom of Madura, or rather the city of Trichinopoly. The men of Mysore, Tanjore and Ginji were jealous of one another, and carried on a contest among themselves; but they combined in the humiliation and subjugation of Chokkanâtha.

(*To be continued.*)

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7 *See* his *Mysore*, I, 50-54.

8 *Madur. Man.* 195 f.

9 *Madur. Man.*, p. 199; Wilks, I. p. 53. The *Bondela Jour.* does not mention this.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

NOTES FROM OLD FACTORY RECORDS.

3. A new verison of Hobson Jobson—Jacey Bocey—Joicey Boicy.

21 *December* 1682. Consultation in Masulipatam. The Governour of this towne Mauhmd : Alley Beague [Mahmûd 'Alî Bêg] haveing occasion for 4 Cases spiritts and two Cheeses for his master (being Jacey bocey time when they drinke much sherbett) and for him selfe two bales Sugar, sent to the Factory for same, The Councell therefore thinke it Convenient, and order that he be presented with the same being requesite to oblige him with such things at this season of the year, that our business may not meet with any inturruption and that in case an Interloper should come in he may not have any pretence to favour him or his businesse. (*Factory Records, Masulipatam*, Vol. 4.)

Note.—The copy of this Consultation now at Madras has "Joicey boicy," but that at the India Office has the spelling "Jacey bocey." Either gives us a new form for this much tortured expression.

R. C. T.

BOOK NOTICE.

Kalidasa's Meghaduta or the Cloud-Messenger (*as embodied in the Pârśvâbhyudaya*) with the Commentary of Mallinâtha, literal English translation, variant readings, critical notes, appendixes and introduction, determining the date of Kâlidâsa from latest antiquarian researches, edited by Kashinath Bapu Pathak, b.a. Second Edition, Poona, 1916.

The *Pârśvâbhyudaya* is too well-known to Sanskrit scholars to need an introduction. An edition of Kâlidâsa's *Meghadûta* based on this metrical biography of Pârśvanâtha by Jinasenâchârya is undoubtedly a very valuable contribution to Indology.

The first edition of Prof. Pathak's book, which appeared in 1894, was characterised by a rather indiscriminate use—or misuse—of diacritical marks in the transliteration of Indian words in the preface and notes accompanying the text. The present edition marks a slight improvement in this respect. Even in this edition, however, the number of the "errata" (printed at the bottom of p. vi) has been considerably underestimated by the author, and the little booklet would have proved much better reading for a thorough revision of the spelling, which in many instances is quite unconventional. From the literal translation and the elaborate exegetical and explanatory apparatus accompanying the reprint of the Sanskrit text, it is evident that the edition is intended chiefly for the use of school-boys and junior college students : and there is no doubt that it will be greatly in demand with this class of readers. The more is the pity that sufficient attention has not been paid to typographical matters ; for, this example of inaccuracy in minor details set by a veteran is likely to be unconsciously copied by the inexperienced young scholar in whose hands the book falls. No doubt the press comes in for its legitimate share of reproof ; but it must be understood that the responsibility of checking instances of such negligence lies entirely with the author.

At p. vii, the subject-matter of the introduction is indicated by a head-line to be "the date of Kâlidâsa." This is indeed a very modest description of the contents of the introduction which treats of a great many things besides ; so much so, that the reader experiences some difficulty in threading his way through the maze of (more or less interesting) digressions. The cannonade of diatribe running through the analysis of the 'critical acumen' of Dr. Hultzsch (pp. xvii-xix) is distinctly one of the less interesting digressions, and might have been with advantage omitted in its entirety.

The remarks bearing on the date of Kâlidâsa have been reprinted with slight alterations from the author's article on the subject entitled "Kalidasa and the Hunas of the Oxus Valley" (*Ind. Ant.*, 1912, p. 265), where an attempt is made to synchronise the composition of the *Raghuvaṁśa* with the advent of the Ephthalites in the Oxus Valley. To quote Prof. Pathak's own words (p. x of the

book under review): "Kâlidâsa must have written his verses about the Hûṇas shortly after 450, the date of the establishment of the Hûṇa empire in the Oxus Basin, but before their first defeat (A. D. 450—455), when they were still in the Oxus Valley and considered the most inivncible warriors of their age"; and all this, because it was on the banks of the Oxus (Vaṅkshu) that Raghu during the course of his *digvijaya* is represented by Kâlidâsa (anachronistically, adds Prof. Pathak) to have encountered the Hûṇa hordes. It is no doubt possible to argue in this way; but the conclusion of the Professor is by no means inevitable. The Hûṇas are evidently introduced as a type of people who had impressed the minds of Indians as formidable foes on the battlefield; and Prof. Pathak is perfectly right in implying that the Ephthalites belong to a category different from that of the classical enemies of the conquering hero, such as the kings of the Chola, Pâṇḍya, Kaliṅga and other kingdoms. But this estimation of their fighting qualities was hardly possible to be formed, unless the Indians of Kâlidâsa's time had known the nomadic hordes nearer at hand than from the remote Oxus Valley. To the same conclusion points the use of the phrase *kapolapâṭanâdeśi* by Kâlidâsa, in the same work (canto 4, verse 68), which discloses close intimacy with the customs and manners peculiar to the White Huns. It would be, therefore, equally legitimate to assign Kâlidâsa to an epoch of Indian history following shortly on the expulsion of the Hûṇa hordes from the confines of India proper. This would be a time when the picture of their ferocious barbarity was still vividly present to the minds of the poet's contemporaries, and a reference to the rout of the Hûṇas would have immediately and strikingly appealed to the imagination of the readers. Thus, even under these circumstances there would be nothing incongruous in the fact of the poet making Raghu encounter the retreating Hûṇas in their 'epic' home of the Vaṅkshu Valley. The upshot of this antinomian argumentation seems to be to exclude the possibility of referring Kâlidâsa to the period in which the Ephthalites occupied the position of paramount sovereigns within the limits of India. For, on the contrary supposition, with the Hûṇas actually holding their own in the Panjab and parts of Central India, the statement that Raghu fought with these same people on the banks of the Oxus and defeated them there, would have been incomprehensible to Kâlidâśa's contemporaries. The reference is, in any case, too vague to admit of exact chronological computations like those which Prof. Pathak attempts.

The determination of the date of Kâlidâsa is, as remarked above, only one of the questions dealt with in the introduction. Another topic discussed there is the value of Vallabha's Commentary on the *Meghadûta* in settling the question of the spurious verses. The verdict of Prof. Pathak is not favourable to the commentator. Dr. Hultzsch, it would appear, misguided by the opinion of the Pandits Durgaprasad and Parab regarding the age of Vallabha, identifies him with Kaiyaṭa's grandfather of that name and assigns him therefore to the first half of the tenth century (see Hultzsch's edition of the *Meghadûta*, Preface, p. ix). Prof. Pathak would rather place him two centuries later, and the reasons adduced by him in support of his opinion are worthy of careful consideration. If it turn out that the Professor's surmise of the age of Vallabhadeva is correct, this circumstance would detract considerably from the value to which the commentary might otherwise be entitled on grounds of its supposed antiquity. In any event, Prof. Pathak attaches far too much importance to this fact; for it must be remembered that even the author of the *Pârsvâbhyudaya* is separated by at least two centuries from the time of Kâlidâsa,—a period which is long enough in India to engender interpolations. Each work represents the version locally current at the particular epoch to which the commentator belongs. And neither in one case the seclusion of the Kaśmîr Valley, nor in the other, the proximity to the poet by—admitting Prof. Pathak's estimation to be correct—three centuries, is a sufficient guarantee of the entire purity of the respective texts.

In reprinting the text of Mallinâtha's commentary Prof. Pathak has introduced an innovation. He has expunged the remarks of the commentator regarding the spuriousness of certain verses, a procedure which, being misleading, is not commendable.

V. S. Sukthankar.

CASTES IN INDIA.

Their mechanism, genesis and development.[1]

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MANY of us, I dare say, have witnessed local, national, or international expositions of material objects that make up the sum total of human civilization. But few can entertain the idea of there being such a thing as an exposition of human institutions. Exhibition of human institutions is a strange idea; some might call it the wildest of ideas. But as students of Ethnology I hope you will not be hard on this innovation, for it is not so, and to you at least it should not be strange.

You all have visited, I believe, some historic place like the ruins of Pompeii, and listened with curiosity to the history of the remains as it flowed from the glib tongue of the guide. In my opinion a student of Ethnology, in one sense at least, is much like the guide. Like his prototype, he holds up (perhaps with more seriousness and desire of self-instruction) the social institutions to view, with all the objectiveness humanly possible, and inquires into their origin and function.

Most of our fellow students in this Seminar, which concerns itself with Primitive *versus* Modern Society, have ably acquitted themselves along these lines by giving lucid expositions of the various institutions, modern or primitive, in which they are interested. It is my turn now, this evening, to entertain you, as best I can, with a paper on "Castes in India: their mechanism, genesis and development."

I need hardly remind you of the complexity of the subject I intend to handle. Subtler minds and abler pens than mine have been brought to the task of unravelling the mysteries of Caste; but unfortunately it still remains in the domain of the "unexplained," not to say of the "un-understood." I am quite alive to the complex intricacies of a hoary institution like Caste, but I am not so pessimistic as to relegate it to the region of the unknowable, for I believe it can be known. The caste problem is a vast one, both theoretically and practically. Practically, it is an institution that portends tremendous consequences. It is a local problem, but one capable of much wider mischief, for "as long as caste in India does exist, Hindus will hardly intermarry or have any social intercourse with outsiders; and if Hindus migrate to other regions on earth, Indian caste would become a world problem."[2] Theoretically, it has defied a great many scholars who have taken upon themselves, as a labour of love, to dig into its origin. Such being the case, I cannot treat the problem in its entirety. Time, space and acumen, I am afraid, would all fail me, if I attempted to do otherwise than limit myself to a phase of it, namely, the genesis, mechanism and spread of the caste system. I will strictly observe this rule, and will dwell on extraneous matters only when it is necessary to clarify or support a point in my thesis.

To proceed with the subject. According to well-known ethnologists, the population of India is a mixture of Aryans, Dravidians, Mongolians and Scythians. All these stocks of people came into India from various directions and with various cultures, centuries ago, when they were in a tribal state. They all in turn elbowed their entry into the country by fighting with their predecessors, and after a stomachful of it settled down as peaceful neighbours. Through constant contact and mutual intercourse they evolved a common

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[1] A paper read before the Anthropology Seminar (9th May 1916) of Dr. A. A. Goldenweiser, Columbia University, New York.

[2] Ketkar, *Caste*, p. 4.

culture that superseded their distinctive cultures. It may be granted that there has not been a thorough amalgamation of the various stocks that make up the peoples of India, and to a traveller from within the boundaries of India the East presents a marked contrast in physique and even in colour to the West, as does the South to the North. But amalgamation can never be the sole criterion of homogeneity as predicated of any people. Ethnically all peoples are heterogeneous. It is the unity of culture that is the basis of homogeneity. Taking this for granted, I venture to say that there is no country that can rival the Indian Peninsula with respect to the unity of its culture. It has not only a geographic unity, but it has over and above all a deeper and a much more fundamental unity—the indubitable cultural unity that covers the land from end to end. But it is because of this homogeneity that Caste becomes a problem so difficult to be explained. If the Hindu Society were a mere federation of mutually exclusive units, the matter would be simple enough. But Caste is a parcelling of an already homogeneous unit, and the explanation of the genesis of Caste is the explanation of this process of parcelling.

Before launching into our field of enquiry, it is better to advise ourselves regarding the nature of a caste. I will therefore draw upon a few of the best students of caste for their definitions of it.

(1) M. Senart, a French authority, defines a caste as "a close corporation, in theory at any rate rigorously hereditary: equipped with a certain traditional and independent organisation, including a chief and a council, meeting on occasion in assemblies of more or less plenary authority and joining together at certain festivals: bound together by common occupations, which relate more particularly to marriage and to food and to questions of ceremonial pollution, and ruling its members by the exercise of jurisdiction, the extent of which varies, but which succeeds in making the authority of the community more felt by the sanction of certain penalties and, above all, by final irrevocable exclusion from the group."

(2) Mr. Nesfield defines a caste as "a class of the community which disowns any connection with any other class and can neither intermarry nor eat nor drink with any but persons of their own community."

(3) According to Sir H. Risley, "a caste may be defined as a collection of families or groups of families bearing a common name which usually denotes or is associated with specific occupation, claiming common descent from a mythical ancestor, human or divine, professing to follow the same professional callings and are regarded by those who are competent to give an opinion as forming a single homogeneous community."

(4) Dr. Ketkar defines caste as "a social group having two characteristics: (1) membership is confined to those who are born of members and includes all persons so born; (2) the members are forbidden by an inexorable social law to marry outside the group."

To review these definitions is of great importance for our purpose. It will be noticed that taken individually the definitions of three of the writers include too much or too little: none is complete or correct by itself and all have missed the central point in the mechanism of the Caste system. Their mistake lies in trying to define caste as an isolated unit by itself, and not as a group within, and with definite relations to, the system of caste as a whole. Yet collectively all of them are complementary to one another, each one emphasising what has been obscured in the other. By way of criticism, therefore, I will take only those points common to all Castes in each of the above definitions which are regarded as peculiarities of Caste and evaluate them as such.

To start with M. Senart. He draws attention to the "idea of pollution" as a characteristic of Caste. With regard to this point it may be safely said that it is by no means a peculiarity of Caste as such. It usually originates in priestly ceremonialism and is a particular case of the general belief in purity. Consequently its necessary connection with Caste may be completely denied without damaging the working of Caste. The "idea of pollution" has been attached to the institution of Caste, only because the Caste that enjoys the highest rank is the priestly Caste: while we know that priest and purity are old associates. We may therefore conclude that the "idea of pollution" is a characteristic of Caste only in so far as Caste has a religious flavour. Mr. Nesfield in his way dwells on the absence of messing with those outside the Caste as one of its characteristics. In spite of the newness of the point we must say that Mr. Nesfield has mistaken the effect for the cause. Caste, being a self-enclosed unit naturally limits social intercourse, including messing etc., to members within it. Consequently this absence of messing with outsiders is not due to positive prohibition, but is a natural result of Caste, *i. e.*, exclusiveness. No doubt this absence of messing, originally due to exclusiveness, acquired the prohibitory character of a religious injunction, but it may be regarded as a later growth. Sir H. Risley, makes no new point deserving of special attention.

We now pass on to the definition of Dr. Ketkar, who has done much for the elucidation of the subject. Not only is he a native, but he has also brought a critical acumen and an open mind to bear on his study of Caste. His definition merits consideration, for he has defined Caste in its relation to a system of Castes, and has concentrated his attention only on those characteristics which are absolutely necessary for the existence of a Caste within a system, *rightly excluding all others as being secondary or derivative in* character. With respect to his definition it must, however, be said that in it there is a slight confusion of thought, lucid and clear as otherwise it is. He speaks of **Prohibition of Intermarriage** and **Membership by Autogeny** as the two characteristics of Caste. I submit that these are but two aspects of one and the same thing, and not two different things as Dr. Ketkar supposes them to be. If you prohibit inter-marriage the result is that you limit membership to those born within the group. Thus the two are the obverse and the reverse sides of the same medal.

This critical evaluation of the various characteristics of Caste leaves no doubt that prohibition, or rather the absence of intermarriage—endogamy, to be concise—is the only one that can be called the essence of Caste when rightly understood. But some may deny this on abstract anthropological grounds, for there exist endogamous groups without giving rise to the problem of Caste. In a general way this may be true, as endogamous societies, culturally different, making their abode in localities more or less removed, and having little to do with each other, are a physical reality. The negroes and the whites and the various tribal groups that go by the name of American Indians in the United States may be cited as more or less appropriate illustrations in support of this view. But we must not confuse matters, for in India the situation is different. As pointed out before, the peoples of India form a homogeneous whole. The various races of India occupying definite territories have more or less fused into one another and do possess a cultural unity, which is the only criterion of a homogeneous population. Given this homogeneity as a basis, Caste becomes a problem altogether new in character and wholly absent in the situation constituted by the mere propinquity of endogamous social or tribal

groups. Caste in India means an artificial chopping off of the population into fixed and definite units, each one prevented from fusing into another through the custom of. endogamy. Thus the conclusion is inevitable that **endogamy is the only characteristic that is peculiar to Caste**, and if we succeed in showing how endogamy is maintained, we shall practically have proved the genesis and also the mechanism of Caste.

It may not be quite easy for you to anticipate why I regard endogamy as a key to the mystery of the Caste system. Not to strain your imagination too much, I will proceed to give you my reasons for it.

It may not also be out of place to emphasize at this moment that no civilized society of to-day presents more survivals of primitive times than does the Indian society. Its religion is essentially primitive and its tribal code, in spite of the advance of time and civilization, operates in all its pristine vigour even to-day. One of these primitive survivals, to which I wish particularly to draw your attention, is the **custom of exogamy**. The prevalence of exogamy in the primitive world is a fact too well known to need any explanation. With the growth of history, however, exogamy has lost its efficacy and, excepting the nearest blood-kins, there is usually no social bar restricting the field of marriage. But regarding the peoples of India the law of exogamy is a positive injunction even to-day. Indian society still savours of the clan system, even though there are no clans: and this can be easily seen from the law of matrimony which centres round the principle of exogamy, for it is not that *sapindas* (blood-kins) cannot marry, but a marriage even between *sagotras* (of the same class) is regarded as a sacrilege.

Nothing is therefore more important for you to remember than the fact that endogamy is foreign to the people of India. The various *gotras* of India are and have been exogamous: so are the other groups with totemic organization. It is no exaggeration to say that with the people of India exogamy is a creed and none dare infringe it, so much so that, in spite of the endogamy of the Castes within them, exogamy is strictly observed and that there are more rigorous penalties for violating exogamy than there are for violating endogamy. You will, therefore, readily see that with exogamy as the rule there could be no Castes, for exogamy means fusion. But we *have* Castes; consequently in the final analysis creation of Castes, so far as India is concerned, means the superposition of endogamy on exogamy. However, in an originally exogamous population an easy working out of endogamy (which is equivalent to the creation of Caste) is a grave problem, and it is in the consideration of the means utilized for the preservation of endogamy against exogamy that we may hope to find the solution of our problem.

Thus **the superposition of endogamy on exogamy means the creation of Caste.** But this is not an easy affair. Let us take an imaginary group that desires to make itself into a Caste and analyse what means it will have to adopt to make itself endogamous. If a group desires to make itself endogamous a formal injunction against intermarriage with outside groups will be of no avail, especially if prior to the introduction of endogamy, exogamy had been the rule in all matrimonial relations. Again, there is a tendency in all groups lying in close contact with one another to assimilate and amalgamate, and thus consolidate into a homogenous society. If this tendency is to be strongly counteracted in the interest of Caste formation, it is absolutely necessary to circumscribe a circle outside which people should not contract marriages.

Nevertheless, this encircling to prevent marriages from without creates problems from within which are not very easy of solution. Roughly speaking, in a normal group the

two sexes are more or less evenly distributed, and generally speaking there is an equality between those of the same age. The equality is, however, never quite realized in actual societies. At the same time to the group that is desirous of making itself into a caste the maintenance of equality between the sexes becomes the ultimate goal, for without it endogamy can no longer subsist. In other words, if endogamy is to be preserved conjugal rights from within have to be provided for, otherwise members of the group will be driven out of the circle to take care of themselves in any way they can. But in order that the conjugal rights be provided for from within, it is absolutely necessary to maintain a numerical equality between the marriageable units of the two sexes within the group desirous of making itself into a Caste. It is only through the maintenance of such an equality that the necessary endogamy of the group can be kept intact, and a very large disparity is sure to break it.

The problem of Caste, then, ultimately resolves itself into one of repairing the disparity between the marriageable units of the two sexes within it. Left to nature, the much needed parity between the units can be realized only when a couple dies simultaneously. But this is a rare contingency. The husband may die before the wife and create a *surplus woman*, who must be disposed of, else through intermarriage she will violate the endogamy of the group. In like manner the husband may survive his wife and be a *surplus man*, whom the group, while it may sympathise with him for the sad bereavement, has to dispose of, else he will marry outside the Caste and will break the endogamy. Thus both the *surplus man* and the *surplus woman* constitute a menace to the Caste if not taken care of, for not finding suitable partners inside their prescribed circle (and left to themselves they cannot find any, for if the matter be not regulated there can only be just enough pairs to go round) very likely they will transgress the boundary, marry outside and import offspring that is foreign to the Caste.

Let us see what our imaginary group is likely to do with this *surplus man* and *surplus woman*. We will first take up the case of the *surplus woman*. She can be disposed of in two different ways so as to preserve the endogamy of the Caste.

First: burn her on the funeral pyre of her deceased husband and get rid of her. This, however, is rather an impracticable way of solving the problem of sex disparity. In some cases it may work, in others it may not. Consequently every *surplus woman* cannot thus be disposed of, because it is an easy solution but a hard realization. And so the *surplus woman* (= widow), if not disposed of, remains in the group: but in her very existence lies a double danger. She may marry outside the Caste and violate endogamy, or she may marry within the Caste and through competition encroach upon the chances of marriage that must be reserved for the potential brides in the Caste. She is therefore a menace in any case, and something must be done to her if she cannot be burned along with her deceased husband.

The second remedy is to enforce widowhood on her for the rest of her life. So far as the objective results are concerned, burning is a better solution than enforcing widowhood. Burning the widow eliminates all the three evils that a *surplus woman* is fraught with. Being dead and gone she creates no problem of remarriage either inside or outside the Caste. But compulsory widowhood is superior to burning because it is more practicable. Besides being comparatively humane it also guards against the evils of remarriage as does burning: but it fails to guard the morals of the group. No doubt under compulsory widowhood the woman remains, and just because she is deprived of her natural right of being a legitimate wife in future, the incentive to immoral conduct is increased. But

this is by no means an insuperable difficulty. She can be degraded to a condition in which she is no longer a source of allurement.

The problem of *surplus man* (= widower) is much more important and much more difficult than that of the *surplus woman* in a group that desires to make itself into a Caste. From time immemorial man as compared with woman has had the upper hand. He is a dominant figure in every group and of the two sexes has greater prestige. With this traditional superiority of man over woman his wishes have always been consulted. Woman, on the other hand, has been an easy prey to all kinds of iniquitous injunctions, religious, social or economic. But man as a maker of injunctions is most often above them all. Such being the case, you cannot accord the same kind of treatment to a *surplus man* as you can to a *surplus woman* in a Caste.

The project of burning him with his deceased wife is hazardous in two ways: first of all it cannot be done, simply because he is a man. Secondly, if done, a sturdy soul is lost to the Caste. There remain then only two solutions which can conveniently dispose of him. I say conveniently, because he is an asset to the group.

Important as he is to the group, endogamy is still more important, and the solution must assure both these ends. Under these circumstances he may be forced, or I should say induced, after the manner of the widow, to remain a widower for the rest of his life. This solution is not altogether difficult, for without any compulsion some are so disposed as to enjoy self-imposed celibacy, or even to take a further step of their own accord and renounce the world and its joys. But, given human nature as it is, this solution can hardly be expected to be realized. On the other hand, as is very likely to be the case, if the *surplus man* remains in the group as an active participator in group activities, he is a danger to the morals of the group. Looked at from a different point of view celibacy, though easy in cases where it succeeds, is not so advantageous even then to the material prospects of the Caste. If he observes genuine celibacy and renounces the world, he would not be a menace to the preservation of Caste endogamy or Caste morals as he undoubtedly would be if he remained a secular person. But as an ascetic celibate he is as good as burned, so far as the material well-being of his Caste is concerned. A Caste, in order that it may be large enough to afford a vigorous communal life, must be maintained at a certain numerical strength. But to hope for this and to proclaim celibacy is the same as trying to cure atrophy by bleeding.

Imposing celibacy on the *surplus man* in the group, therefore, fails both theoretically and practically. It is in the interest of the Caste to keep him as a *grahastha* (one who raises a family), to use a Sanskrit technical term. But the problem is to provide him with a wife from within the Caste. At the outset this is not possible, for the ruling ratio in a caste has to be one man to one woman and none can have two chances of marriage, for in a Caste thoroughly self-enclosed there are always just enough marriageable women to go round for the marriageable men. Under these circumstances the *surplus man* can be provided with a wife only by recruiting a bride from the ranks of those not yet marriageable in order to tie him down to the group. This is certainly the best of the possible solutions in the case of the *surplus man*. By this, he is kept within the Caste. By this means numerical depletion through constant outflow is guarded against, and by this endogamy and morals are preserved.

It will now be seen that the four means by which numerical disparity between the two sexes is conveniently maintained are: (1) Burning the widow with her deceased

husband; (2) Compulsory widowhood—a milder form of burning; (3) Imposing celibacy on the widower; (4) Wedding him to a girl not yet marriageable. Though, as I said above, burning the widow and imposing celibacy on the widower are of doubtful service to the group in its endeavour to preserve its endogamy, all of them operate as *means*. But means, as forces, when liberated or set in motion create an end. What then is the end that these means create? They create and perpetuate endogamy, while caste and endogamy, according to our analysis of the various definitions of caste, are one and the same thing. Thus the existence of these means is identical with caste and caste involves these means.

This, in my opinion, is the general mechanism of a caste in a system of castes. Let us now turn from these high generalities to the castes in Hindu society and inquire into their mechanism. I need hardly promise that there are a great many pitfalls in the path of those who try to unfold the past, and caste in India to be sure is a very ancient institution. This is especially true where there exist no authentic or written records, or where the people, like the Hindus, are so constituted that to them writing history is a folly, for the world is an illusion. But institutions do live, though for a long time they may remain unrecorded and as often as not customs and morals are like fossils that tell their own history. If this is true, our task will be amply rewarded if we scrutinize the solution the Hindus arrived at to meet the problems of the *surplus man* and *surplus woman*.

Complex though it be in its general working the Hindu Society, even to a superficial observer, presents three singular uxorial customs, namely:—

(i) *Sati* or the burning of the widow on the funeral pyre of her deceased husband.

(ii) Enforced widowhood by which a widow is not allowed to remarry.

(iii) Girl marriage.

In addition, one also notes a great hankering after *sannyasa* (renunciation) on the part of the widower, but this may in some cases be due purely to psychic disposition.

So far as I know, no scientific explanation of the origin of these customs is forthcoming even to-day. We have plenty of philosophy to tell us why these customs were honoured, but nothing to tell us the causes of their origin and existence. *Sati* has been honoured (*Cf.* A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Sati: a Defence of the Eastern Woman* in the *British Sociological Review*, Vol. VI. 1913) because it is a "proof of the perfect unity of body and soul" between husband and wife and of "devotion beyond the grave;" because it embodied the ideal of wifehood, which is well expressed by Umâ when she said "Devotion to her Lord is woman's honour, it is her eternal heaven: and O Maheshvara," she adds with a most touching human cry, "I desire not paradise itself if thou art not satisfied with me!" Why compulsory widowhood is honoured I know not, nor have I yet met with any one who sang in praise of it, though there are a great many who adhere to it. The eulogy in honour of girl marriage is reported by Dr. Ketkar to be as follows: "A really faithful man or woman ought not to feel affection for a woman or a man other than the one with whom he or she is united. Such purity is compulsory not only after marriage, but even before marriage, for that is the only correct ideal of chastity. No maiden could be considered pure if she feels love for a man other than the one to whom she might be married. As she does not know to whom she is going to be married, she must not feel affection for any man at all before marriage. If she does so, it is a sin. So it is better for a girl to know whom she has to love, before any sexual consciousness has been awakened in her."[3] Hence girl marriage.

[3] *History of Caste in India*, 1909, pp. 32-33.

gigantic a task to be achieved by the power or cunning of an individual or of a class. Similar in argument is the theory that the Brahmans created the caste. After what I have said regarding Manu, I need hardly say anything more, except to point out that it is incorrect in thought and malicious in intent. The Brahmans may have been guilty of many things, and I dare say they are, but the imposing of the caste system on the non-Brahman population was beyond their mettle. They may have helped the process by their glib philosophy, but they certainly could not have pushed their scheme beyond their own confines. To fashion society after one's own pattern! How glorious! How hard! One can take pleasure and eulogize its furtherance, but cannot further it very far. The vehemence of my attack may seem to be unnecessary: but I can assure you that it is not uncalled for. There is a strong belief in the mind of orthodox Hindus that the Hindu Society was somehow moulded into the frame work of the Caste System, and that it is an organization consciously created by the *Shâstras*. Not only does this belief exist, but it is being justified on the ground that it cannot but be good, because it is ordained by the *Shâstras* and the *Shâstras* cannot be wrong. I have urged so much on the adverse side of this attitude, not because the religious sanctity is grounded on scientific basis, nor to help those reformers who are preaching against it. Preaching did not make the caste system, neither will it unmake it. My aim is to show the falsity of the attitude that has exalted religious sanction to the position of a scientific explanation.

Thus the great man theory does not help us very far in solving the spread of castes in India. Western scholars, probably not much given to hero-worship, have attempted other explanations. The nuclei, round which have "formed" the various castes in India, are, according to them:—(1) occupation; (2) survivals of tribal organizations, etc.: (3) the rise of new belief; (4) cross-breeding and (5) migration.

The question may be asked whether these nuclei do not exist in other societies and whether they are peculiar to India. If they are not peculiar to India, but are common to the world, why is it that they did not "form" caste on other parts of this planet? Is it because those parts are holier than the land of the Vedas, or that the professors are mistaken? I am afraid that the latter is the truth.

Inspite of the high theoretic value claimed by the several authors for their respective theories, based on one or other of the above nuclei, one regrets to say that on close examination they are nothing more than filling illustrations—what Matthew Arnold means by "the grand name without the grand thing in it." Such are the various theories of caste advanced by Sir Denzil Ibbetson, Mr. Nesfield, M. Senart and Sir H. Risley. To criticise them in a lump would be to say that they are a disguised form of the *Petitio Principii* of formal logic. To illustrate: Mr. Nesfield says that "function and function only . . . was the foundation upon which the whole system of castes in India was built up." But he may rightly be reminded that he does not very much advance our thought by making the above statement, which practically amounts to saying that castes in India are functional or occupational, which is a very poor discovery! We have yet to know from Mr. Nesfield why is it that an occupational group turned into an occupational caste? I would very cheerfully have undertaken the task of dwelling on the

theories of other ethnologists, had it not been for the fact that Mr. Nesfield's is a typical one.

Without stopping to criticize those theories that explain the caste system as a natural phenomenon occurring in obedience to the law of disintegration, as explained by Herbert Spencer in his formula of evolution, or as natural as "the structural differentiation within an organism"—to employ the phraseology of orthodox apologists—, or as an early attempt to test the laws of eugenics—as all belonging to the same class of fallacy which regards the caste system as inevitable, or as being consciously imposed in anticipation of these laws on a helpless and humble population, I will now lay before you my own view on the subject.

We shall be well advised to recall at the outset that the Hindu society, in common with other societies, was composed of classes and the earliest known are the (1) Brahmans or the priestly class: (2) the Kshatriya, or the military class: (3) the Vaiśya, or the merchant class: and (4) the Śudra, or the artisan and menial class. Particular attention has to be paid to the fact that this was essentially a class system, in which individuals, when qualified, could change their class, and therefore classes did change their personnel. At some time in the history of the Hindus, the priestly class socially detached itself from the rest of the body of people and through a closed-door policy became a caste by itself. The other classes being subject to the law of social division of labour underwent differentiation, some into large, others into very minute groups. The Vaiśya and Śudra classes were the original inchoate plasm, which formed the sources of the numerous castes of to-day. As the military occupation does not very easily lend itself to very minute sub-division, the Kshatriya class could have differentiated into soldiers and administrators.

This sub-division of a society is quite natural. But the unnatural thing about these sub-divisions is that they have lost the open door character of the class system and have become self-enclosed units called castes. The question is, were they compelled to close their doors and become endogamous, or did they close them of their own accord? I submit that there is a double line of answer: **Some closed the door: others found it closed against them.** The one is a psychological interpretation and the other is mechanistic, but they are complementary and both are necessary to explain the phenomena of caste-formation in its entirety.

I will first take up the psychological interpretation. The question we have to answer in this connection is: Why did these sub-divisions or classes, if you please, industrial, religious or otherwise, become self-enclosed or endogamous? My answer is because the Brahmans were so. Endogamy, or the closed-door system, was a fashion in the Hindu Society, and as it had originated from the Brahman caste it was whole-heartedly imitated by all the non-Brahman sub-divisions or classes, who, in their turn, became endogamous castes. It is "the infection of imitation" that caught all these sub-divisions on their onward march of differentiation and has turned them into castes. The propensity to imitate is a deep-seated one in the human mind and need not be deemed an inadequate explanation for the formation of the various castes in India. It is so deep-seated that Walter Bagehot argues that "we must not think of . . . imitation as voluntary, or even conscious. On the contrary it has its seat mainly in very obscure parts of the mind, whose notions, so far from being consciously produced, are hardly felt to exist; so far from being conceived beforehand, are not even felt at the time. The main seat of the imitative part of our nature is our belief, and the causes predisposing us to believe this or disinclining us to believe that are among the obscurest parts of our nature. But as to the imitative nature

of credulity there can be no doubt."[4] This propensity to imitate has been made the subject of a scientific study by Gabriel Tarde, who lays down three laws of imitation. One of his three laws is that imitation flows from the higher to the lower or, to quote his own words, "Given the opportunity, a nobility will always and everywhere imitate its leaders, its kings or sovereigns, and the people likewise, given the opportunity, its nobility."[5] Another of Tarde's laws of imitation is: that the extent or intensity of imitation varies inversely in proportion to distance, or in his own words "the thing that is most imitated is the most superior one of those that are nearest. In fact, the influence of the model's example is efficacious inversely to its *distance* as well as directly to its superiority. Distance is understood here in its sociological meaning. However distant in space a stranger may be, he is close by, from this point of view, if we have numerous and daily relations with him and if we have every facility to satisfy our desire to imitate him. This law of the imitation of the nearest, of the least distant, explains the gr. and consecutive character of the spread of an example that has been set by the higher social ranks."[6]

In order to prove my thesis—which really needs no proof—that some castes were formed by imitation, the best way, it seems to me, is to find out whether or not the vital conditions for the formation of castes by imitation exist in the Hindu Society. The conditions for imitation, according to this standard authority are: (1) That the source of imitation must enjoy prestige in the group and (2) that there must be "numerous and daily relations" among members of a group. That these conditions were present in India there is little reason to doubt. The Brahman is a semi-god and very nearly a demi-god. He sets up a mode and moulds the rest. His prestige is unquestionable and is the fountain-head of bliss and good. Can such a being, idolised by Scriptures and venerated by the priest-ridden multitude, fail to project his personality on the suppliant humanity? Why, if the story be true, he is believed to be the very end of creation. Such a creature is worthy of more than mere imitation, but at least of imitation; and if he lives in an endogamous enclosure, should not the rest follow his example? Frail humanity! Be it embodied in a grave philosopher or a frivolous housemaid, it succumbs. It cannot be otherwise. Imitation is easy and invention is difficult.

Yet another way of demonstrating the play of imitation in the formation of castes is to understand the attitude of non-Brahman classes towards those customs which supported the structure of caste in its nascent days until, in the course of history, it became embedded in the Hindu mind and hangs there to this day without any support—for now it needs no prop but belief—like a weed on the surface of a pond. In a way, but only in a way, the status of a caste in the Hindu Society varies directly with the extent of the observance of the customs of *sati*, enforced widowhood, and girl marriage. But observance of these customs varies directly with the *distance* (I am using the word in the Tardian sense) that separates the caste. Those castes that are nearest to the Brahmans have imitated all the three customs and insist on the strict observance thereof. Those that are less near have imitated enforced widowhood and girl marriage; others, a little further off, have only girl marriage, and those furthest off have imitated only the belief in the caste principle. This imperfect imitation, I dare say, is due partly to what Tarde calls "distance" and partly to the barbarous character of these customs. This

[4] *Physics and Politics* 1915, p. 60.

[5] *Laws of Imitation*, Tr. by E. C. Parsons, 2nd ed. p. 217.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 224.

phenomenon is a complete illustration of Tarde's law and leaves no doubt that the whole process of caste-formation in India is a process of imitation of the higher by the lower. At this juncture I will turn back to support a former conclusion of mine, which might have appeared to you as too sudden or unsupported. I said that the Brahman class first raised the structure of caste by the help of those three customs in question. My reason for that conclusion was that their existence in other classes was derivative. After what I have said regarding the rôle of imitation in the spread of these customs among the non-Brahman castes, as means or as ideals, though the imitators have not been aware of it, they exist among them as derivatives; and, if they are derived, there must have been prevalent one original caste that was high enough to have served as a pattern for the rest. But in a theocratic society, who could be the pattern but the servant of God?

This completes the story of those that were weak enough to close their doors. Let us now see how others were closed in as a result of being closed out. This I call the mechanistic process of the formation of caste. It is mechanistic because it is inevitable. That this line of approach, as well as the psychological one, to the explanation of the subject has escaped my predecessors is entirely due to the fact that they have conceived Caste as a unit by itself and not as one within a System of Caste. The result of this oversight or lack of sight has been very detrimental to the proper understanding of the subject matter and therefore its correct explanation. I will proceed to offer my own explanation by making one remark which I will urge you to bear constantly in mind. It is this: that **caste in the singular number is an unreality. Castes exist only in the plural number.** There is no such thing as *a* caste: there are always castes. To illustrate my meaning: while making themselves into a caste, the Brahmans, by virtue of this, created a non-Brahman caste; or, to express it in my own way, while closing themselves in they closed others out. I will clear my point by taking another illustration. Take India as a whole with its various communities designated by the various creeds to which they owe allegiance, to wit, the Hindus, Muhammadans, Jews, Christians and Parsîs. Now, barring the Hindus, the rest within themselves are non-caste communities. But with respect to each other they are castes. Again, if the first four enclose themselves, the Parsîs are directly closed out, but are indirectly closed in. Symbolically, if group A. wants to be endogamous, group B. has to be so by sheer force of circumstances.

Now apply the same logic to the Hindu society and you have another explanation of the "fissiparous" character of caste, as a consequence of the virtue of self-duplication that is inherent in it. Any innovation that seriously antagonises the ethical, religious and social code of the Caste is not likely to be tolerated by the Caste, and the recalcitrant members of a Caste are in danger of being thrown out of the Caste, and left to their own fate without having the alternative of being admitted into or absorbed by other Castes. Caste rules are inexorable and they do not wait to make nice distinctions between kinds of offence. Innovation may be of any kind, but all kinds will suffer the same penalty. A novel way of thinking will create a new Caste for the old ones will not tolerate it. The noxious thinker respectfully called Guru (Prophet) suffers the same fate as the sinners in illegitimate love. The former creates a caste of the nature of a religious sect and the latter a type of mixed caste. Castes have no mercy for a sinner who has the courage to violate the code. The penalty is excommunication and the result is a new caste. It is not peculiar Hindu psychology that induces the excommunicated to form themselves into a caste: far from it. On the contrary, very often they have been quite

willing to be humble members of some caste (higher by preference) if they could be admitted within its fold. But castes are enclosed units and it is their conspiracy with clear conscience that compels the excommunicated to make themselves into a caste. The logic of this obdurate circumstance is merciless, and it is in obedience to its force that some unfortunate groups find themselves enclosed, because others in enclosing, themselves have closed them out, with the result that new groups (formed on any basis obnoxious to the caste rules) by a mechanical law are constantly being converted into castes to a bewildering multiplicity. Thus is told the second tale in the process of Caste formation in India.

Now to summarise the main points of my thesis. In my opinion there have been several mistakes committed by the students of Caste, which have misled them in their investigations. European students of Caste have unduly emphasised the rôle of colour in the caste-system. Themselves impregnated by colour prejudices, they very readily imagined it to be the chief factor in the Caste problem. But nothing can be farther from the truth, and Dr. Ketkar is correct when he insists that "All the princes whether they belonged to the so-called Aryan race, or the so-called Dravidian race, were Aryas. Whether a tribe or a family was racially Aryan or Dravidian was a question which never troubled the people of India, until foreign scholars came in and began to draw the line. The colour of the skin had long ceased to be a matter of importance."[7] Again, they have mistaken mere descriptions for explanation and fought over them as though they were theories of origin. There are occupational, religious, etc. castes, it is true, but it is by no means an explanation of the origin of Caste. We have yet to find out why occupational groups are castes; but this question has never even been raised. Lastly they have taken Caste very lightly as though a breath had made it. On the contrary, Caste, as I have explained it, is almost impossible to be sustained: for the difficulties that it involves are tremendous. It is true that Caste rests on belief, but before belief comes to be the foundation of an institution, the institution itself needs to be perpetuated and fortified. My study of the Caste problem involves four main points: (1) That in spite of the composite make-up of the Hindu population, there is a deep cultural unity. (2) That Caste is a parcelling into bits of a larger cultural unit. (3) That there was one Caste to start with. (4) That classes have become Castes through imitation and excommunication.

Peculiar interest attaches to the problem of Caste in India to-day, as persistent attempts are being made to do away with this unnatural institution. Such attempts at reform, however, have aroused a great deal of controversy regarding its origin, as to whether it is due to the conscious command of a Supreme Authority, or is an unconscious growth in the life of a human society under peculiar circumstances. Those who hold the latter view will, I hope, find some food for thought in the standpoint adopted in this paper. Apart from its practical importance the subject of Caste is an all absorbing problem and the interest aroused in me regarding its theoretic foundations has moved me to put before you some of the conclusions, which seem to me well founded, and the grounds upon which they may be supported. I am not, however, so presumptuous as to think them in any way final, or anything more than a contribution to a discussion of the subject. It seems to me that the car has been shunted on wrong lines, and the primary object of the paper is to indicate what I regard to be the right path of investigation, with a view to arrive at a serviceable truth. We must, however, guard against approaching the subject with a bias.

[7] *History of Caste* p. 82.

Sentiment must be outlawed from the domain of science and things should be judged from an objective standpoint. For myself I shall find as much pleasure in a positive destruction of my own idealogy, as in a rational disagreement on a topic, which, notwithstanding many learned disquisitions is likely to remain controversial for ever. To conclude, while I am ambitious to advance a Theory of Caste, if it can be shown to be untenable I shall be equally willing to give it up.

SOME REMARKS SUPPLEMENTING "THE MANUSMRITI IN THE LIGHT OF SOME RECENTLY PUBLISHED TEXTS"[1].

BY HIRALAL AMRITLAL SHAH, ESQR., BOMBAY.

IN the *Mahâbhârata*, (Bombay University ed. 1914), Droṇap° VII. 1 (p. 283), Droṇâchârya speaks of his qualifications as a general before the Kauravas gathered together to elect a generalissimo in the place of Bhîshma. He tells us:—

"वेदं षडङ्गं वेदाहमर्थविद्यां च मानवीम्
त्रैयम्बकमथेष्वस्त्रं श(अ)स्त्राणि विविधानि च ॥"

"I know the Vedas with their six branches (of sciences), the *Arthavidyâ of Manu*, the science of discharging the arrows presided over by Śiva, and various other *śastras* (weapons)."

This passage of the *Mahâbhârata* may help us in concluding that there must be, or, at least, have been, a great book on politics and military affairs composed by Manu. It may form an independent treatise, or it may form a large section in the *Mânavadharmaśâstra*. In the *Arthaśâstra* of Kauṭilya (Mysore, *Bibliotheca Sanskrita* No. 37), we find in its latter portion, consisting of about two hundred pages, Châṇakya's thoughts on, and the rules worked out for, military purposes. When we compare the portion of the *Arthaśâstra* of Kauṭilya with what is said in the *Manusmṛiti*, ch. VII, we discover a vast difference between the two. The *Manusmṛiti* enunciates only general principles of warfare. We cannot think that the study of these verses of the seventh chapter will ever qualify a man for the command of a big army, or entitle him to boast of his proficiency in military matters. Hence, we think, that the "*Mânavî Arthavidyâ*" must be on a scale similar to that of the *Arthaśâstra* of Kauṭilya and, that *Manusmṛiti* VII is an abridgment of the rules therein.

Perhaps some may take the term "अर्थविद्यां च मानवीम्" in other senses than we have taken it. It might be translated as the "*Arthavidyâ* of human beings." There is no particular reason to prefer this translation, because Droṇâchârya has not spoken of any science or *vidyâ* belonging to some other (say, heavenly) beings.

Believing then that the *Arthaśâstra* of Manu is referred to by Droṇâchârya, we would point out here one or two confirmations of this conclusion.

Some of the quotations, standing against the name of the followers of Manu ("इति मानवाः") in the *Arthaśâstra* of Kauṭilya, cannot be traced to the present *Manusmṛiti*. May it not be that they are to be found in the *Dharmaśâstra* (or perhaps in the *Dharmasûtras*) of Manu which yet lies somewhere hidden away unprinted? Nârada and Bṛihaspati claim allegiance to Manu. They differ much from the *Manusmṛiti*. Hence it may be that the source of some of their rules may prove to be the *Dharmaśâstra* of Manu, which may include also the *Arthavidyâ*, proudly mentioned by Droṇâchârya before the Kaurava warriors.

[1] *Ante*, Vol. XLV., pp. 112-115; 125-129.

THE HISTORY OF THE NAIK KINGDOM OF MADURA,

BY V. RANGACHARI, M.A., L.T., MADRAS.

(*Continued from p. 78.*)

The usurpation of Rustam Khan.

In the midst of all this danger and distress, Chokkanâtha behaved like a fool and a weakling. He employed his time in the reading of the *Râmâyaṇa*, the *Mahâbhârata* and other sacred books. He ignored the duties and responsibilities of royalty and became for all intents and purposes, a recluse. Either his recklessness and incapacity or the discontent[10] of his ministers led to the entrusting of the administration in the hands of his brother Muttu Aḷakâdri. Aḷakâdri, however, was an incompetent man. He had at the same time a fatal proneness to the company of doubtful persons and dangerous favourites. He raised to power and prominence a Muhammadan, Rustam Khan[11] by name, who had entered his service under circumstances of dire poverty. Entrusting all the affairs of administration in his hands, Muttu Aḷakâdri, like his brother, spent his time in culpable indolence or active oppression; and Rustam paid his master's generosity with treachery. A sudden access to power, instead of gratifying his desires, increased his ambition, and aimed at the mastery and possession of the kingdom. He first strengthened himself by inviting and engaging a number of Muhammadans, on whose faith he could thoroughly rely, in the service of the State. The fort of Trichinopoly came in this way to be guarded by his men. He then boldly demanded the withdrawal of his benefactor from his kingdom or his death. The timidity of Muttu Aḷakâdri yielded to the Musalman's threat, and he became an exile at Negapatam. Rustam Khan then confined the king within the palace, treated him with indignity, and for two years exercised the full duties of royalty,—not sparing even the honour of the harem ladies, many of whom preferred death to shame.

The downfall of Rustam.

Thus it was that, while Trichinopoly was at the mercy of exultant foreigners at its gates, its internal condition was most miserable and deplorable. The king was a prisoner, his brother an exile, and the city the property of Rustam Khan. At a moment when union and efficiency was needed, it was distracted and weakened by internal broils and jealousies. Affairs would have become still worse, but for the loyalty of the Daḷavâi, Gôvindappaiya, the Polygars, and Kiḷavan Sêtupati. The Daḷavâi organised a strong Hindu party for the restoration of the king. The means he adopted were ingenious. He sent a secret message to Chinna Kadir Nâik, the chief of Kannivâḍi,[12] and the Sêtupati,

[10] The Telugu Mackenzie MS. *Record of the affairs of Carn. Govrs.*, says that Chokkanâtha directed his brother to manage affairs, himself being employed in religious pursuits. Nelson, however, says that the deplorable weakness of Chokkanâtha led to the discontent of the ministers, his deposition, and the entrusting of the administration in the hands of Muttu Aḷakâdri. The one version thus makes Aḷakâdri the friend of his brother, while the other his rival and opponent. For an inscription of Muttu Aḷakâdri see *ante*. Unfortunately it sheds no light on the relation between the brothers, but from the fact that, it does not mention Chokkanâtha, while it mentions Śrî Raṅga Râya as his suzerain, it can perhaps be inferred that he was a rebel and not regent.

[11] According to the *Hist. of the Carn. Dyn.*, which does not mention the name of Aḷakâdri at all, it was Chokkanâtha that raised him to position and wealth.

[12] See the genealogy of Appaiya Nâik of Kaṇṇivâḍi.

asking them to come to Trichinopoly. On their arrival[14] he related the condition of the king and the cause of their summons, and proposed that next day they should come at the head of a well-armed section of their troops to the revenue office with a view to seizing the person of the obnoxious Muhammadan. The next day the chiefs and their retinue appeared at the gates of the office. Rustam Khan's suspicion was aroused, and he inquired into the reasons of the unusual procedure. Gôvindappaiya, however, answered that they were coming, in accordance with precedents, for the settlement of the revenues, but in secret gave the signal for attack. Two thousand musket-shots, then, assailed the Muhammadan and his men, and put an end to their existence before they could hardly recover from their surprise. The Dindigul Polygar carried the welcome news to the king, but he refused to come out, unless he saw with his own eyes the head of the traitor. Chinna Kadir replied that it was not possible to bring it, as Rustam's body could not be distinguished from those of his companions; but the king persisted in his desire, asserting that the discovery was easy enough from a mark in the adventurer's ear. The body was then discovered and the head being placed before Chokkanâtha, he emerged from the palace and once again assumed the charge of affairs. His first act was to recall his brother from Negapatam.

The Mysorean and Maratha incursions.

But the relief of Chokkanâtha from domestic enemies did not give him relief from his foreign enemies. The Marathas and the Mysoreans had by this time overthrown the whole of the Madura kingdom. They now, in 1682, encompassed Trichinopoly. Chokkanâtha tried to adopt a wise policy of diplomacy and intrigue, to foment their disunion and cause their destruction. With this view he entered into negotiations with the lieutenant of Santoji against Mysore. It was, as the immediate result shewed, a wise act. The Maratha general encountered the forces of Kumâra Raya, defeated them with great slaughter, captured Kumâra Raya himself, and conquered the whole kingdom, except Madura. Even Madura he would have taken but for the assistance which the Maravas rendered to the other party.[15] Chokkanâtha rejoiced at his ally's success; he expected that, in return for his alliance and assistance, he would get back his possessions. But he was mistaken. The Maratha's selfishness blinded him to the obligation of treaty, and instead of restoring the kingdom to Chokkanâtha, he seized it himself. The military occupation of the Marathas was a disaster to the people of the unfortunate kingdom.

The death of Chokkanâtha.

It was a blow from which Chokkanâtha never recovered. The cup of his grief was now full. Friendless and powerless, shut up at Trichinopoly, he became a prey to despair and melancholy. Even the Sêtupati, who had rescued him from the obnoxious Rustam, became a passive traitor. He, indeed, did not openly join the Marathas and Mysoreans against his master. Nevertheless, he was present in the seat of war, and while freely collecting booty, did not raise his finger on behalf of his suzerain. It is not improbable

[13] Nelson gives a different account. He says that the Mysoreans under Kumâra Râya were then besieging Trichinopoly; that Rustam made a sally and attacked him, but was defeated; and that when he was returning to the city with a few followers, Chokkanâtha's friends (Sêtupati, etc.) fell upon them and cut them down to a man.

[14] The Maravas were the enemies of both the combatants and would have gladly taken the city for themselves; but as it was, they had, in consequence of their inabilty to take it, to join that party which was likely to prove the most amenable neighbour to them; and they thought Mysore was comparatively the better.

that in the low state to which Chokkanâtha's fortunes had been reduced, the Sêtupati saw the practical extinction of the Madura kingdom, and felt the restoration of its ancient greatness to be a forlorn hope, and therefore thought of his own security, and assumed an air of indifference. It is also possible that his non-interference was the consequence of his inability, for between 1678 and 1685 his country was ruined by a dreadful famine, which made many people leave the dead on the banks of rivers.[16] In any case Chokkanâtha lost the support of his most resourceful vassal at the most critical moment. The kingdom, he now realised, was beyond recovery, and the sense of its loss was so keen as to break his heart and end his days in a few weeks.

The cause of the failure.

Such was the tragic conclusion of the reign of Chokkanâtha. An impartial examination of his reign shews that his failure was essentially the result of his character. Unfortunate in coming to the throne at a very young age, and unfortunate in his servants and ministers, Chokkanâtha was, indeed, to a large extent a fate's failure; but he had for his greatest enemy, himself. His vanity and pride involved him in wars, which wisdom would have avoided. All his misfortunes can be traced to the illfated Tanjore invasion, and that was caused by his quickness to take offence, his oversensitiveness to an old man's words. Chokkanâtha was, further, a creature of moods. To-day he would act with commendable vigour, to-morrow he would lead a life of culpable indolence. Essentially a weak man, he was not fit for an age of storm and stress. The wild Maratha was carrying everything before him and even strong kings trembled at his name. The greedy Mysorean was not far behind in search of prey and profit. Within the kingdom itself there was, thanks to an inefficient central government, restlessness and sedition among its vassals. And yet at such a time, Chokkanâtha forsook politics for religion and the sword for the altar. No wonder he became the tool of his own destruction, and the destruction of his kingdom.

NOTES ON THE TANJORE-MADURA AFFAIRS BETWEEN 1675 AND 1680.

Wilson's version of the events between 1675 and 1680, based most probably on one of the MSS., which is unfortunately not available, is very different from that which has been given above, and is plainly inaccurate. He says that Sengamala Dâs, the Tanjore prince, escaped from Trichinopoly with the aid of Rustam Khan "who had been a favourite of Chokkanâtha and who commanded the garrison under the orders of Mudala Rudra Nayak (Alakadri Naik), the brother of Chokkanâtha, an extravagant and indolent prince who lavished on his personal gratification the sums destined for the pay of the troops." The army had become discontented, and Rustam took advantage of this to become the master of Trichinopoly. It was now that Sengamala Das was allowed to escape. He proceeded to Jingi and asked its king, Ekoji, to advance against Madura. The latter soon came near Srirangam. At the same time the Raja of Mysore encroached in the west. Chokkanâtha's position was thus very precarious. His kingdom was attacked on one side by Ekoji and on the other by Mysore, the latter being so powerful

[16] Chandler.

as to capture Madura itself and occupy it for three years. The internal government was a chaos owing to Rustam Khan. Unable to maintain the shadow of his power, Chokkanâtha tried negotiations in despair. He first succeeded in purchasing the return of the Mysoreans by surrendering Erode and Dharapuram to them. He then, with Kilavan Setupati's help, dispersed the troops of Sengamala Dâs, and re-occupied Tanjore. He finally recovered Trichinopoly from Rustam Khan, who lost his life in the defence. The Raja of Jingi retreated to his dominions, and Chokkanâtha was thus able to be in the tranquil possession of the patrimonial possessions.

But he was soon destined to lose his acquisition of Tanjore. For the fugitive prince, Sengamala Dâs, had recourse to Ekoji, who was then at Bangalore under the nominal authority of Bijapur. He readily agreed to undertake his restoration. The confederates marched to Tanjore and expelled the Madura forces. But Ekoji usurped the throne, and forthwith entered into a confederacy with his late enemy Chokkanâtha against Sivaji. All this took place between 1675 and 1680.

The *Bhosalapratâpam*, says Wilson, gives a different account. It says that the Prince, of Trichinopoly applied to Shahji for assistance against Vijaya Râghava of Tanjore, that Shahji helped him in the overthrow of Vijaya Râghava and the capture of Tanjore: and that he then expelled his ally and seized the kingdom. He left it then under his son Ekoji.

SECTION III.

THE GROWTH OF CHRISTIANITY IN THIS REIGN.

A word may be said about the progress of Christianity in this reign. The organization of the dioceses and the activities of the Paṇḍâram and Sanyâsi missionaries, had a very perceptible effect, and brought thousands of people into the Christian fold. By 1677, for instance, the Nâik capital itself had as many as 2000 Christians. It is said that, about 1650, the Christians were, according to the Governor of Trichinopoly, "everywhere and could not be counted." In 1676 Father Frere wrote that the Christians of Tanjore were numerous enough to emigrate to Ceylon and Malacca. In Tanjore the Pariah Christians had the full control of the royal elephants and horses, and were so far advanced as to organize a strike and compel the authorities to treat them better. Christianity[17] flourished even more in Madura and boasted of recruits from all classes of the population,—Brahmans, weavers of rank and wealth, salt merchants, and blacksmiths, the Pariahs, Paḷḷans, Paravas and mendicants of all castes.

This enormous increase in the Christian population naturally gave rise to persecution in various places. The historian will always note the commendable spirit of toleration which distinguished Hindu kings in general: but it was not always the case. There were not lacking, even in the most liberal age, chiefs and officers that resorted to persecution. In Trichinopoly, for instance, the governor, the chief civil authority of the province, was a determined opponent and persecutor of the Christians, and countenanced an important official under him, the chief of the customs, a Valaiyan by caste, to lead with impunity an anti-Christian crusade. The animosity of this officer, however, was due as much to economic as to religious reasons. He imagined that the Christians were exceedingly rich, and incited some of his own relations, who had been living in poverty in the neighbourhood of the Church at Trichinopoly, to plunder it. Proenza, the missionary Paṇḍâram then in charge, got a warning of the impending attack and escaped to Kandalur. The raiders found

[17] Manucci, writing about 1700, says that there were "more than 100 churches under the Jesuit mission," and the Christians were increasing in number. *Storia do Mogor III*, 106.

nothing to gratify their avarice. When Proenza subsequently returned, they accused him of sorcery and of having caused a Valaiyan to be possessed, and the governor ordered his arrest.

The persecution and trial of Proenza.

Proenza once again made his escape, but not to a place outside Trichinopoly. He went to the Nâik commander of the army, a man of broad mind and kindly nature, whose friendly attitude to the Christian religion was well known. The general, an uncle of the king at Madura and therefore a person of great influence in the Court and council, gave refuge to Proenza, and at his instigation induced the governor to order a public trial, so that the preacher could prove his innocence to the world. It was a plausible request, and the governor appointed judges. These however were his tools and decided that the accusation of the Valaiyans was right. The general however refused to recognize the sham trial and sent men to his nephew to inform him of the event. The governor also sent his decision. The Daḷavâi-Pradhâni at Madura thereupon ordered a retrial of the case, and at the same time expressed a desire to see a record of the evidence. The result was, that the evidence of the Valaiyan was found to be of no value and Proenza was acquitted.

Other missionaries of the period.

The Christians had many similar annoyances; but opposition gave them strength and increased their numbers. In all this they had to thank their leaders, Arcclini and Proenza in Trichinopoly, Stephen and De Silva in Madura, De Costa and Alwarez in Tanjore, Frere and others in the East Coast. Alwarez, who died in June 1664, after 21 years of glorious service, was a fit successor of De Nobilis and Martins. Proenza, an Italian of Lombardy, was an equally great man. Historically he occupies a more conspicuous place, as it was around him the court intrigues in Trichinopoly were very active. Indifferent to personal violence and physical suffering he used to make long excursions north of Trichinopoly for the sake of the Pariahs, the special objects of his solicitude, in one of which excursions he died of sheer exhaustion. Between 1670 and 1680 the work of the mission declined in the Western region in Satyamaṅgalam, while it increased in activity in the Coromandel coast from Jingi to Ramnad. The progress in the northern part of the region, in the basin of the Coleroon, was due to the untiring labours of Father Frere, and in the southern part to the labours of the singularly remarkable saint and sage, who came to Madura as the head of the mission. This was the celebrated John de Britto, a sage, who as a preacher and servant of God, was perhaps greater, certainly purer, than De Nobilis himself.

Jean de Britto.

Jean de Britto was born at Lisbon of illustrious parents in March 1647. His father Don Pereyra was a favourite of the Duke of Braganza, later on king, then governor of Rio de Janeiro. His mother Donra Beatrix, was a highborn woman of a lively intellect and religious bent of mind. De Britto shewed the spirit of a saint and a martyr even in his youth, when he was under the instruction of the Jesuits. So serious and solemn he was in his studies that his companions called him a martyr, little dreaming that the aristocratic child was after all destined to die thousands of miles away amidst a sturdy and bigoted race, for the sake of Christ and the Cross. In December 1662, De Britto became, in spite of the dissuasions of the Infanta whose companion and playmate he was and of the queen-regent, a member of the society of Jesus; and after eleven years of

close study and serious preparation, chose South India, the scene of the labours of his cherished hero, Xavier, for his own scene of labours. In 1673 he came to Goa and from there, after the completion of his theological studies, attached himself to the Madura Mission.

From the moment of De Britto's entrance into Madura he began to experience the trials and pangs of a martyr. Rarely indeed has it fallen to the lot of any other missionary in India such a lot as befell him. Before his advent the city of Madura alone had been a centre of Christian activity. The neighbouring villages had been free from it. The advent of De Britto ruffled, in the eyes of his adversaries, this tranquillity of the religious atmosphere and gave rise to a period of storm and excitement. The priests and leaders of Hinduism regarded his intrusion with alarm and set aflame the torch of persecution. The footsteps of the missionary began to be dogged more by his opponents than by his followers, and the voice of his sermon was drowned by the lamentations of his disciples and the exultant cries of his persecutors. On one occasion, while he was at a village near Madura, he was assailed, put in chains, and tortured. Twice the ominous axe was brought, and the calm bearing, the uncomplaining resignation of the pious victim alone unnerved the arm and overcame the zeal of the executioner. De Britto's object, however, was not to work in the vicinity of Madura. He longed to carry the light of his faith to the land of the Maravas, where, he understood, the religion of Christ had not been preached for a long time.

The reception accorded to him here was, if possible, more cruel. The Maravas, fierce in valour and fiercer in prejudice, differed indeed in many respects from the orthodox Hindus, but they were Hindus all the same. Fondly attached to their creed, they regarded with hatred those who dared to revile the god who, in their legendary history, had blessed their land and given it his name. Their glory, their tradition, their very life was bound up with the law of Râma. They were Râma's men, his chosen people,—their great pride was in declaring and cherishing the belief in it. To such a race, the preachings of the new missionary were singularly obnoxious. To see Râma denounced and dethroned, to hear his divinity questioned and his greatness belittled was, in their eyes, not only a wanton insult on their nation, but a crime the enormity of which they could not sufficiently condemn. It is not surprising therefore that De Britto had every opportunity of becoming a martyr.

The leader of the anti-Christian movement was a Marava general, one of the most influential men in the land. Endowed more with religious zeal than martial valour, this pious soldier followed De Britto in all his movements, and subjected him, through his agents, to a crowd of troubles and difficulties. In the vicinity of Sivagaṅga, whither De Britto had gone, he was seized and taken to the presence of the Sêtupati. On the way, he was treated with a singular cruelty. Fettered and tortured he was kept bound, for the space of two days, bound to the stumps of trees. Cords were attached to his frame and he was frequently dipped into a tank. Brought before the important shrine of Kâḷayâr Kôil, he was suspended to a tree by cords fastened to his feet and hands so that he could look with repentance on the god whose name had had reviled. He was confined in a dark dungeon for eleven days and given meagre food. Suffering, however, gave a new strength and a new enthusiasm to De Britto. The great object of his life was, as has been already mentioned, to get the name of a martyr, to die for the sake of the Cross. The ultimate goal of his ambition was to be ranked with the saints and martyrs of early and mediæval Christianity. He

therefore provoked persecution and excited fanaticism. It is not surprising that when subsequently he was taken to a Siva temple north of Kâḷayâr Kôil and asked to invoke the name of Siva, he refused, and was kicked and struck by the Hindu general. It was further resolved by his persecutors to deprive him of one of his hands and feet and then to impale. But the resolution was not carried out, though the followers of the mission-ary were mutilated by the loss of one foot, one hand, the ears, nose and tongue, and sent back to the homes which they had deserted. De Britto was then flogged and cast on an uneven rock and trampled by a number of men so that his body, pierced through and through, was in a welter of blood. These oppressions over, the missionary was taken to the Sêtupati's capital and confined first in a stable and then in a cell for twenty days. At the end of this period he was brought to the presence of the Sêtupati. and the latter after hearing the accusations against him and perhaps also his tale of woe, set him at liberty forbidding him, however, on pain of death, to continue his tirade against idol-worship and polygamy.

The divine patience of De Britto gained the admiration of the Father Provincial. Embracing the noble martyr with heart-felt affection, he pronounced his resolve to send him to the mother-country to select, in person, a number of men who could accompany him and share his trials. Early in 1688 De Britto, in consequence, left India and reached Lisbon at the end of the year. Honoured by prince and peasant, in the Court and in the country, the pious man of God, clad in Indian costume, was deservedly the picturesque cynosure of the pious section of his countrymen. People high and low, rich and poor, flocked to see the man, who had been born among princes of the proudest nation and who had chosen to suffer for the dark millions of a distant land; who might have graced the richest chambers of a palace, but who had prefered the cell of an Indian hut; who might have enjoyed every luxury, but who had chosen a life of abstinence entirely innocent of wine; who might have shone as a statesman or diplomatist figuring in the Courts of Europe, but who had chosen to be a wandering mendicant, to be flogged by Indian fanatics and persecuted by Indian princes.

De Britto soon returned to the scene of his labours and redoubled them among the people; and his industry was rewarded with a great conquest. One Tadia Tevan, a near relation of the Sêtupati and a man whose chance of ascending the *gadi* itself was not too remote, sacrificed all his chances for the sake of conviction and embraced the Christian religion. He met, however, a great obstacle in his fifth wife, a relative of the Sêtupati, who, unlike her three elder co-wives, refused to sacrifice her wifehood for the money he offered,—for the acceptance of Christianity made it necessary for Tanda Têvan to become a monogamist. The highborn lady engaged the most orthodox to dissuade her husband and tried, but in vain, every means. She then carried her grievance to the Sêtupati. The Marava world had been shocked by the invasion of the palace itself by the alien creed; and Kiḷavan felt himself bound to move with public opinion and pacify public agitation, by taking steps against the missionary. Orders were given to burn the church and arrest the preachers. De Britto was arrested and taken in fetters to the Sêtupati's capital. Compelled to run behind the horses, while the escorts held the chains, whipped

and jeered at, the saint was taken to the Sêtupati, and he, in response to the advice of his advisers, resolved to put an end to his life. Unwilling to shed the blood himself or afraid of the rebellion of Tadia Tevan's men, he sent the father to a brother of his, Uḍaya Tevan, then evidently a local chief on the Pâmban. The latter, a lame man, asked the missionary to cure him of his lameness by his magic—for, all this time the universal impression was that he was a magician and deluder of men's minds—and on his pleading inability, it was taken for unwillingness, and he was taken to the scaffold, erected in a plain and seen by all men, tied to a post, and cut to pieces, after the severance of the head from the body. Even the right of burial was denied and the corpse was left to be devoured by birds and beasts.

De Britto[18] had gained his great object—martyrdom. It was in 1693, (February).

Such is the life and career of De Britto.[19] The historian cannot but have a deep affection for his personality. A more inspiring, ennobling, sincere or profound martyr never came to India. Compared with that of De Nobilis, it will be readily noticed that his moral influence was greater, his character more tender and sympathetic. There was much hypocrisy and more self-contradiction in De Nobilis; but De Britto was all sincerity, a personification of uniform and shining virtues. De Nobilis might have been more astonishingly equipped for the work of controversy, he might have even a longer number of the accredited prophetic gifts; but while his genius and his intellectual powers can be readily recognized, it is certain that he is at a distance from De Britto in the beauty of character and the sincerity of God's servant.

In a sketch of the activities of the Madura Mission; one thing should always be remembered,—namely that the Madura missionaries, in the enthusiasm of their propaganda, forgot the spirit of their own gospel and persecuted the other Christians who, like them, wanted to elevate the heathen. A remarkable example of the narrow sectarianism of the Jesuits is clear in a case of Christian converts at Uttamapâḷayam in 1680. One of these Christians " went to the Syrian Christians in the mountains of Travancore, and represented to their bishop that in Uttamapâḷayam, at the foot of the mountains on the Madura side, there were several Brahman converts who had not accepted baptisement at the hands of the Jesuits, because they regarded them as Parangis. He was asked to come and baptize them, and with them a great prince of that region. The bishop sent an Italian Carmelite, and he went in his European dress to the church at Uttamapâḷayam. The catechist there begged him to avoid lowcaste neophytes, and because he refused to do that, withdrew with the whole congregation, and there shut him out of the church. The Carmelite's guide abandoned him and the Hindus would not help him, so that the poor man, forsaken in a strange country, disappeared, and probably perished. The Madura priests approved of the catechist's action.[20] "

18 *O. H. MSS., II*, 223.

19 The life of Constantius Beschi is important more for its literary than its religious work. I have therefore dealt with it in Chap. XI.

20 Chandler: *Madura Mission.*

CHAPTER VIII.

Ranga Krishna Muttu Virappa, (1682-1689).

On the death of Chokkanâtha, his son, Ranga Krishna Muttu Vîrappa, a youth[21] of sixteen, came to the throne. Never did a ruler ever inherit a throne under such gloomy circumstances or had to meet, at the outset of his career, a situation so doubtful and so dangerous. The incompetence and indiscretion of Chokkanâtha had reduced the kingdom to the narrow confines of a single city. The rest of his extensive dominions was either under the actual occupation of foreigners, or a prey to rival adventurers. The people experienced a series of miseries unrivalled in the past and unimaginable in the future. The evils of anarchy and military occupation manifested themselves to the fullest extent, and filled the realm with sorrow and misery. In the name of the rival powers, robbers and adventurers, whose meat and drink was plunder, and whose turbulence and cruelty defied the discipline of authority and the sentiment of humanity, roamed throughout the land, occupied the forts of the realm, thronged the high roads, and out-stripped one another and the soldiers in the work of destruction. A bold, strong and determined man and saviour was the cry of the moment. A soldier and far-seeing statesman was the need of the hour, a person who combined the vigour of the sword with the sympathy of a people's king. Therein lay the one hope of Madura, the one chance of recovery or rebirth. Another Viśvanâtha or Aryanâtha, in other words, was an imperative necessity.

Ranga Krishna's character and adventures.

Fortunately the new king[22] was, though young in age, old in wisdom and mature in counsels. He had the activity of habit and the keenness of intellect, characteristic of a soldier-statesman. In his character, enthusiasm was coupled in harmonious combination with discretion, and excellent qualities of the head with those of the heart. Excepting Viśvanâtha I, he was the most amiable and picturesque of the Nâik dynasty. His charming personality roused the admiration of his courtiers, the loyalty of his servants, and the affection of his subjects. He was gaiety itself. He loved fun and adventure. He loved to surprise men by his unexpected visits in unexpected places, in unexpected garbs. One

[21] According to the *Pand. Chron.* he ruled from Rudhirôtkâri (1683) Adi 17th, to Pramôdhûta (1691) *i. e.* for 8 years. According to *Supple. MS.*, from Vibhava to Bhava (*i. e.*, 1688-1695); the *Carna. Govrs.* also says, from Vibhava to Bhava. The Telugu *Carn. Dyn.* says he ruled from Bahudhânya (1698 A. D.) to Vijaya (1707 A. D). The correct date is about 1682-1689, and is proved by epigraphy. The epigraphical evidences in regard to this reign however are very meagre. In his *Antiquities* Sewell mentions only one inscription, at Arumbâvur, 14 miles N. W. of Parambalur in Trichinopoly district. It says that in 1686 Ranga Krishna repaired a sluice there. (*Antiquities*, I, p. 263). An inscription of 1657 A. D. (Hêviḷambi) says that Ranga Krishna gave some lands in the villages of Tirumalasam dram and Pudukkuḷam in the Tinnevelly District to a Brahman. In connection with this inscription Sewell remarks "that the date and cyclic year correspond, but the sovereign mentioned as the donor commenced his reign at Madura in A. D. 1682, and reigned seven years." He therefore believes that the grant might possibly have been given before he became the ruling king. If this were the case, Ranga Krishna would have been more than 25 years old at his accession; but the chronicles say that he was only 16 then. It is thus impossible to reconcile the date of this inscription with that of the chronicles. (For the inscription see *Antiquities*, II, p. 7.)

[22] According to Wheeler, he was sixteen when he ascended the throne and his mother, Mangammâl, acted as Regent. Wheeler notes that he was a skilful horseman and had a memory that could repeat the whole *Bhâgavatam* by heart. He also notes his love for Brahmans, his visit to foreign Courts in disguise, and the dignified way in which he behaved towards the Mughal's slipper.

evening, for instance, he rode, as was always the case with him, alone and unattended to Tanjore, and entering the fort at night, borrowed from a merchant in the bazaar street a pagoda on the deposit of his ring, and used it for his expenses. After a spare diet of milk and butter, he put on the guise and dress of a common sepoy, and entered the king's palace in the dark. Going to the audience hall, he heard with his own ears the discussion of the affairs of the kingdom between the king and his ministers. On his departure,[23] we are told, he wrote on the door leading from the throne-hall to the private apartments the fact of his arrival and his attendance during the discussion of state affairs. The next morning he left for Trichinopoly, promising to redeem the ring soon after. Immediately after his return, he called for the Tanjore ambassador, spoke to him of his adventure, and asked him to write to his master, requesting the redeeming of the ring and advising him to maintain a more vigilant guard in the palace.

A similar story illustrative of Raṅga Kṛishṇa's heroism and bravery is not out of place here. The Polygar of Ariyalûr had in his possession four things of priceless value, a beautiful[24] camel, an elephant, a sword and a horse. The predecessors of Raṅga Kṛishṇa had expressed a desire for these things, but owing to the unwillingness of the Polygar and their own judicious moderation, which scorned the application of force, they had not obtained them. Raṅga Kṛishṇa now resolved to get possession of them by some means. With that spirit of daring enterprise which formed the chief feature of his character, he rode alone to Ariyalûr, bidding his Sirdars and troops follow at a distance. Forcing his way into the town, he reached the palace, and seating himself on the verandah outside, sent word, through the servants, of his arrival. The Polygar, a Nâyanâr, who was then engaged in his toilet operations, was taken by surprise and seized with apprehension. A visit of his suzerain, so unusual and so sudden, so simple and so unceremonious, foreboded, in his eyes, some disaster or disgrace. He therefore hastily finished his work and, accompanied by his children, hurried to present himself before his sovereign, and placed, at his feet, as a mark of homage, a dish full of gems and jewels. In an attitude of humble and respectful loyalty, the Polygar then asked his master for the object of his condescension; and when Raṅga Kṛishṇa mentioned it, he expressed a tactful regret that he put himself to such trouble for such a paltry purpose; that a single line in writing would have sufficed. The Polygar therefore readily surrendered the objects of his master's desire, an act in which he was, no doubt, actuated by a feeling of fear at the reported approach of an army. The elephant, however, was then subject to a fit and too furious to be approached by anyone. But the bold daring of the Madura monarch, undertook, in the face of loyal protests, the task which none of his servants could dare. With his fine and fleet horse, a noble breed of white, he approached the elephant, and by a series of skilful manœuvres succeeded in enticing it to Trichinopoly, where the rest of the work of subjugation was undertaken by skilful mahouts. The king had, however, to pay dearly for his new acquisition; for his noble steed, the instrument of his gain, dropped down dead, owing to exhaustion and overwork, the moment he alighted from it.

(To be continued.)

[23] Compare the story about Kaṇṭhîrava Narasa Râj of Mysore (1639-55) who once went incognito to Trichinopoly and slew in a duel the champion of that Court. Wilks' *Mysore*, I, p. 30.

[24] The camel was called Râma-Lakshmaṇa, the sword Chinna Râma Bâṇa, the elephant Raṇa Vîrabhadra, and the horse Muttu Kuochu. The names remind the similar ones prevalent among the Mughals. See, for example, Manucci's *Storia do Mogor.* M. J. Wodehouse compares Raṅa Kṛishṇa to the chivalrous James V of Scotland. See *Ante*, Vol. VII. pp. 22-26.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

NOTES FROM OLD FACTORY RECORDS.

4. Englishmen's Furniture and its Cost in 1682.

14. *August* 1682. Consultation in Masulipatam. There being a great want of Household stuff for this Factory, especially of Chaires, Tables and one or two Coutches, and Mr. Field haveing belonging to him one dozen of Chaires and a Coutch made of Teake wood, it is ordered they be bought for the Companyes Account, the Chaires at 2½ rupees each and the Coutch 2½ pagodas, which he affirmes to bee the true cost of them, and that Mr. Field is desired to furnish us from Madapollam with as many more of the same sort, the house being so bare since the removall of the late Chief [*i. e.*, John Field who had been transferred to Madapollam in July 1682] that some of the roomes therein have not above 4 old Chaires in it, much to the Discredit of our honoble. Masters. (*Factory Records, Masulipatam*, vol. 4).

Note.—The value of the rupee in Madras at this period was about two shillings and four pence and of the pagoda about eight shillings so that the chairs fetched about five shillings a piece and the couch twelve shillings.

R. C. T.

BOOK NOTICE.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE DIFFERENT EXISTING SYSTEMS OF SANSKRIT GRAMMAR, being the Vishwanath Narayan Mandalik Gold Medal prize-essay for 1909. By SHRIPAD KRISHNA BELVALKAR, M.A., Ph.D., pp. viii, 148. Poona, 1915.

IN this little work the author seeks to provide a brief resumé of the total output in the shape of Indian literature bearing on Sanskrit Grammar from the earliest times upto the end of the eighteenth century. This is a long period: and within the scope of 148 pages of the octavo volume Dr. Belvalkar may be said to have achieved a great deal. The "Chronological Conspectus" which is a synchronistic table, showing at a glance the relative positions in point of time of the various grammarians, as well as a very exhaustive and carefully prepared Index, enhance the value of the work.

The book divides itself into short chapters devoted to the individual schools, in each of which an attempt is made to put together the available historical information about the founder of the school, characterise briefly the nature of the work and then follow the subsequent development through the maze of the out-growth of exegetical literature.

Dr. Belvalkar does not claim any originality for the views expressed in the book. The work is a compact little summary—rich in bibliography—of the labours of previous workers in the field, and serves the extremely useful purpose of collecting together in a very handy form the widely scattered material bearing on the subject. It should be indispensable to any one who intends writing a more comprehensive work, discussing *in extenso* the many controversial points which are either only touched upon lightly by Dr. Belvalkar or not noticed at all. In order to make my meaning clearer I shall give just one instance. It would have been, for example, interesting to know the views of the author with regard to the problem of the *Dhâtupâṭha*. The well-known American Indologue, W. D. Whitney, alleged that the majority of roots contained in the *Dhâtupâṭha* appended to our editions of Pâṇini's *Ashṭâdhyâyî* is a purely fictitious product of the imagination of Indian Grammarians, who for some unknown reason took a perverse delight in multiplying their number almost *ad infinitum*. This is at best a very unsatisfactory explanation of the undeniable fact that a very large fraction of the roots of this list is not met with again in the extant Sanskrit literature. Paragraph 36 of Dr. Belvalkar's book, which deals with the *Dhâtupâṭha* contains, however, no reference to the question; nor do I find from the Index any indication that it has been dealt with elsewhere.

The earliest history of Indian Grammar, like that of other Indian sciences, is for us shrouded in the impenetrable veil of antiquity. And Dr. Belvalkar does well perhaps not to lose himself in vague speculations as to the origin of the science (regarding which there is bound to be a great divergence of opinion) but to restrict himself mainly to the historical epoch. In the latter period the author distinguishes twelve distinct schools, each of which has been the focus of further independent development. The first grammarian on the list is naturally Pâṇini. A somewhat detailed treatment is alloted to this school, which takes up nearly one third of the whole volume. But even the short notices of the less known schools, such as the

Kramadîśvara, Saupadma, Sârasvata, etc., are welcome, inasmuch as they contain information gleaned from sources which are not within easy reach of every one.

In the portion dealing with Pâṇini and his school we read at p. 29: "Kâtyâyana's work, the vartikas, are meant to correct, modify, or supplement the rules of Pâṇini wherever they were or had become partially or totally inapplicable." and further on, p. 33: "his [*scil.* Patañjali's] chief aim was to vindicate Pâṇini against the often unmerited attacks of Kâtyâyana." It would appear from this that Dr. Belvalkar has overlooked a small brochure of Kielhorn's entitled "*Kâtyâyana and Patanjali: to their mutual relation each other and to Pâṇini,*" (Bombay, 1876), written with the express purpose of combating this generally accepted but erroneous view and of demonstrating that many of Kâtyâyana's *vârttikas* are meant merely to explain the full scope of the *sûtras* of the *Ashṭâdhyâyî*: while on the other hand, that Patañjali is not such a blind hero worshipper as one is apt to imagine, but that the charge of captious criticism may often be laid at his door as well.

The paragraphs dealing with Chandra and Śâkaṭâyana take notice of a great deal of material scattered through various antiquarian journals, Indian as well as Continental. Some of the statements about the Jaina Śâkaṭâyana call forth comment. Dr. Belvalkar accepts unreservedly a theory propounded by Prof. Pathak in a somewhat lengthy article entitled "Jain Sakatayana, contemporary with Amoghavarsha I" (*ante*, Vol. 43, p. 205 ff.), containing copious quotations from all kinds of works, which speaks for the erudition of the author but leaves the mind of the reader in unutterable confusion as to the issues involved and the solutions proposed. In this article Prof. Pathak elaborates the theory that the Jaina Śâkaṭâyana wrote both the text and the commentary of the *Amoghavṛitti* which was composed in the reign of Amoghavarsha I, between Śaka 736 and 789. This statement involves two *independent* issues: (1) that Śakaṭâyana was the author of the *Amoghavṛitti* and (2) t the *Amoghavṛitti* was written in the reign of Amoghavarsha I. The second of these propositions I shall leave aside for future consideration and restrict myself for the present to an examination of the first one. Was Śâkaṭâyana the author of the *Amoghavṛitti*? Of the reasons adduced by Prof. Pathak in support of his view, which deserve serious consideration, there are two; firstly, a conclusion to be drawn from certain statements of Yakshavarman the author of the *Chintâmaṇi*, in combination with the fact that the *Amoghavṛitti* and the *Chintâmaṇi* contain many demonstrable phrases and sentences which are either identical with, or differ but very little from, each other; secondly, an explicit statement of Chidânanda Kavi (*ca.* A. D. 1700) to the effect that Śâkaṭâyana was the author of the *Amoghavṛitti*. The first point requires further elucidation. In v. 4 of the introductory stanzas of the *Chintâmaṇi*, Yakshavarman tells us that his commentary is merely an abridgment of another very extensive commentary. His words may be interpreted to mean that the author of the latter work was Śâkaṭâyana himself. In fact, this is the view I expressed in my dissertation on the Śâkaṭâyana grammar (submitted to the University of Berlin early in 1914), which was already in press a long time before the appearance of this article of Prof. Pathak. But since hearing the opinion of so experienced a scholar, like Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar, that my interpretation (and incidentally that of Prof. Pathak too) though grammatically possible, was not in consonance with Sanskrit idiom, I have given up my former view and hold now that the couplet in question is capable of an interpretation different from the one I gave to it. However, if Prof. Pathak adheres to the view that the verse in question must be interpreted in the way in which he does, it would be difficult to dislodge him from his standpoint. But even granting that the Professor's explanation is correct, his identification of the author of the *Amoghavṛitti* with Śâkaṭâyana is by no means certain. For in substantiating this, Prof. Pathak relies mainly upon the identity of a large portion of the text of the *Chintâmaṇi* and the *Amoghavṛitti*, and attaches a totally wrong value to this circumstance. It is evident that, depending merely on the similarity of the two commentaries, it would be unsafe to conclude that the "extensive commentary" abridged by Yakshavarman must have been the *Amoghavṛitti* and can be no other. The Jainas are such ardent copyists and have at all times exhibited such an utter lack of originality, that it would never do to lose sight of—in their case.

not the remote, but the very near—possibility of their both having copied from a common source. The Jaina grammarians especially vie with each other in carrying this tendency to a nauseating degree. In evidence I need only point out that not merely the *Amoghavṛitti* and the *Chintâmaṇi*, but along with them also the *Rûpasiddhi* of Dayâpâla and the *Prakriyâsaṁgraha* of Abhayachandra Sûrî, have in common not only short pieces of commentary on individual *sûtras*, but contain even lengthy portions of the text which are little more than exact reproductions of each other. Under these circumstances it is evident that it would be fatal to conclude arbitrarily that any one out of the above-mentioned works was a copy of any other chosen at random.

This may be said to be the negative side of the question. But a fact which speaks positively against this theory is supplied by Prof. Pathak himself on the very first page of the article in question. There the author of the *Amoghavṛitti*, after commenting on the Maṅgala stanza at the beginning of the Śâkaṭâyana *sûtras*, adds by way of introducing the *pratyâhara-sûtras* the following: *evaṁ krita-maṅgala-rakshâ-vidhânaḥ paripûrṇam-alpagranthaṁ laghûpâyaṁ śabdânuśâsanaṁ śâstramidaṁ mahâ-śramaṇa-saṁghâdhipatir bhagavân-âchâryâḥ śâkaṭâyanaḥ prârabhate.*

The author of the commentary thus refers to Śâkaṭâyana with the words 'The revered Master (Grammarian) Śâkaṭâyana! This, I think, is the strongest positive argument in favour of rejecting the identification of Śâkaṭâyana with the author of the *Amoghavṛitti*. I am well aware that Indian authors are in the habit of referring to themselves in their own works in the third person. A well-known instance is that of Vishṇugupta, the author of the *Arthaśâstra*, subscribing his opinions with the words: *Kauṭilyaḥ iti*. But it will have to be admitted that there is a world of difference between the emphatic personal note struck by the words *iti Kauṭilyaḥ*, added at the end of an epigrammatic saying, and the boastful self-praise conveyed by the *bhagvân-âchâryaḥ Śâkaṭâyanaḥ* attributed to Śâkaṭâyana. I hold that it will not be possible to find within the range of the whole of the Sanskrit literature a parallel for the alleged instance of an author referring to himself as the "revered master," or with like words.

The second point brought forth as evidence by Prof. Pathak, *viz.*, the explicit statement of Chidânanda Kavi to the effect that Śâkaṭâyana is the author of the *Amoghavṛitti* has at first sight the appearance of being more reliable. But it must be remembered that although Chidânanda Kavi is nearer to our grammarian than we by something like two centuries, nevertheless, he was separated by a period of nine centuries from the probable date of Śâkaṭâyana, and is likely to have been informed as to who the real author of the *Amoghavṛitti* was, not any better than we at the present day. Until, therefore, some fresh and unequivocal evidence is brought to bear on the question, the authorship of this commentary will, in my opinion, continue to be an unsolved problem.

To turn to other matters. At p. 69 we read: "He [*scil.* Kielhorn] inclined to the view that it was some modern Jain writer, who has presented his own grammatical labours under the auspicies of a revered name, carefully trying to follow the views attributed to him in ancient works and possibly having for its basis some of the teachings of the earlier Śâkaṭâyana." Dr. Belvalkar seems to have confounded the opinions of Kielhorn and Burnell. It was the latter (and not Kielhorn) who looked upon the *Śâkaṭâyana-śabdânuśâsana* as an enlarged edition by a Jaina of a grammar of the pre-Paninean Śâkaṭâyana, and maintained that it would be possible to reconstruct the original grammar by discriminating between what is old and what is now in it. Kielhorn, however, was in no doubt, at least when his article in this journal (1887, pp. 24 ff.) appeared, as to the real state of things, *viz.*, that the work is an out and out modern compilation. Be that as it may, there can be no question about the name Śâkaṭâyana being a pseudonym adopted by some modern compiler; for, the principle on which the name is formed, *viz.*, by the addition of the suffix *-âyana* to the strengthened form of the protonym, had long fallen into disuse at the time when the Jaina must have lived. Names such as Bâdarâyaṇa, Kâtyâyana, Śâkaṭâyana, etc., belong to quite a different epoch of the history of Indian names.

V. S. SUKTHANKAR.

A THIRD JOURNEY OF EXPLORATION IN CENTRAL ASIA, 1913-16.

BY SIR AUREL STEIN, K.C.I.E., D.Sc., D.LITT.

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Abundant as were the results brought back from the journey which during the years 1906-08 had carried me through the whole length of Eastern Turkestan and portions of westernmost China and Tibet, they could not keep my eyes long from turning towards plans of another Central Asian expedition. It was not the mere "call of the desert"—strongly as I have felt it at times—but the combined fascination of geographical problems and interesting archæological tasks, which drew me back to the regions where ruined sites long ago abandoned to the desert have preserved for us relics of an ancient civilization developed under the joint influences of Buddhist India, China, and the Hellenized Near East. I well remembered the openings for fruitful exploratory work which, on my previous travels, disproportion between the available time and the vast extent of the ground had obliged me to pass by, and I was anxious to secure these chances afresh while I could still hope to retain the health and vigour needed successfully to face the inevitable difficulties and hardships.

The arrangement of the large collection of antiques which I had brought to the British Museum from my former expedition, and the multifarious efforts which I had to organize and direct for their elucidation, helped by the staff of assistants and numerous expert collaborators, kept me busy in England until the very end of 1911. Work on the big publication which was to record the scientific results of that journey still continued to claim most of my time after I had returned to duty in the Archæological Survey of India, on the familiar ground of the North-West Frontier and Kashmir. That heavy task was not yet completed when in the autumn of 1912 a variety of considerations induced me to submit to the Indian Government my formal proposals for the long-planned expedition, by which I wished to resume my geographical and archæological explorations in Central Asia. Among these considerations regard for the favourable political conditions then actually prevailing in respect of the regions to be visited played an important part. In this connection I have reason to remember gratefully the shrewd advice by which two kind friends, Sir Henry McMahon, then Foreign Secretary to the Government of India, and Sir George Macartney, H. B. M.'s Consul-General at Kashgar, helped to decide me for an early start.

The kind interest shown by H. E. Lord Hardinge, then Viceroy of India, in my past labours and in my new plans had from the first been a most encouraging augury. My gratitude for this help will be life-long. With it accorded the generous support which the Government of India in the Education Department, then under the enlightened direction of Sir Harcourt Butler, extended to my proposals. This included the payment in three successive years of a total grant of £3000 to cover the cost of the intended explorations, the Indian Government reserving to themselves in return an exclusive claim to whatever "archæological proceeds" my expedition might yield. It was understood that the new Museum of Indian Art and Ethnography planned at Delhi would be the first to benefit by prospective "finds."

For the geographical tasks which formed a large and essential part of my programme, the ready assistance secured from the Indian Survey Department was of the utmost value. To Colonel Sir Sidney Burrard, Surveyor-General of India, I owed already a heavy debt of gratitude for the very effective help he had rendered towards securing and publishing

the survey results brought back from my former journeys. He now kindly agreed to depute with me my experienced old travel companion, Rai Bahadur Lal Singh, Sub-Assistant Superintendent of the Survey of India, and to make available also the services of a second surveyor of his department, Muhammad Yakub Khan, along with all necessary equipment and a grant to cover their travelling expenses. Thus the wide extension of our proposed fresh topographical labours was assured from the outset. For my geographical work I found also an asset of the greatest value in the moral support which the Royal Geographical Society generously extended to me, besides granting the loan of some surveying instruments. During the weary months of preparation, with all their strain of work and anxiety, and afterwards in whatever solitudes of mountains and deserts my travels took me to, I never ceased to derive true encouragement from the generous recognition which the Society had accorded to my former efforts to serve the aims of geographical science. Nor can I omit to record here my deep sense of gratitude for the unfailing sympathy and friendly interest with which in their ever-welcome letters Dr. Keltie and Mr. Hinks, the Society's Secretaries helped to cheer and guide me.

After a Kashmir winter and spring passed over incessant work on *Serindia*, the detailed report on the scientific results of my second journey, there arrived by the middle of May the Secretary of State's eagerly awaited sanction for my expedition. Relying on the kind consideration which my plans had so often received before at the India Office, I had ventured to anticipate, as far as I safely could, a favourable decision, and the lists of orders, etc., for the multifarious equipment needed were ready. Yet it cost no small effort to assure the completion of all the varied preparations within the short available time, considering how far away I was from bases of supply and friends who could help me. A careful survey of all the climatic and topographical factors determining the programme of my movements had convinced me that I could not safely delay my start across the mountains northwards beyond the very beginning of August. So the weeks which remained to me in the peaceful seclusion of my beloved Kashmir mountain camp, Mohand Marg, 11,000 feet above the sea, saw me hard at work from sunrise till evening. By July 23 I moved down from its Alpine coolness to the summer heat of the Kashmir Valley in order to complete our final mobilization at Srinagar in the spacious quarters which the kindness of my old friend, Mr. W. Talbot, had conveniently placed at my disposal for those last busy days in civilization.

There I had the satisfaction to find Rai Bahadur Lal Singh, my trusted old companion, duly arrived with all the surveying equipment, which included this time two 6-inch theodolites, a Zeiss levelling set, a Reeves telescopic alidade and two mercurial mountain barometers, besides an ample supply of aneroids, hypsometers, plane-tables, prismatic compasses, etc. With him had come the second surveyor, a young Pathan of good birth, with manners to match, and that excellent Dogra Rajput, Mian Jasvant Singh, who had accompanied every survey party taken by me to Central Asia. In spite of advancing years he had agreed to act once more as the Rai Sahib's cook, and to face all the familiar hardships of wintry deserts and wind-swept high mountains. At Srinagar I was joined also by two other Indian assistants, who, though new to Central Asian travel, proved both excellent selections for their respective spheres of work. In Naik Shams Din, a corporal of the First (King George's Own) Sappers and Miners, whom Colonel Tylden-Pattenson, commanding that distinguished corps, had chosen for me after careful testing, I found a very useful and capable "handy man" for all work requiring technical skill. A Panjabi Muhammadan

of Kashmiri descent, he proved in every way a worthy successor to Naik Ram Singh, whose devoted help on my second journey I owed to the same regiment, and whose tragic end I have recorded in *Desert Cathay*.

The other assistant, Mian Afrazgul Khan, a Pathan of the saintly Kaka-khel clan, and a Sepoy from the Khyber Rifles, was my own choice, and experience soon showed how much reason I had to be pleased with it. Originally a schoolmaster on the Peshawar border, with a sound vernacular education, he had soon after his enlistment in that famous Frontier Militia Corps been noticed for his topographical sense and superior intelligence. After a year's training in the Military Surveyors' Class at Roorkee, where he greatly distinguished himself, he was permitted by Sir George Roos-Keppel, Chief Commissioner, N.-W. Frontier Province, and Honorary Colonel of the Regiment, to join me as temporary draftsman and surveyor in connection with the excavations I was carrying on in the spring, 1912, as Superintendent of the Frontier Circle, Archæological Survey. There I was soon impressed by his marked and varied ability, and when in addition I became aware of his energy and genuine love of adventure I did not hesitate to engage him as an assistant surveyor for the journey. Our small party was completed by two Indian servants; one of them, Yusuf, a man of somewhat "sporting" instincts, was to act as my cook, and the other Pir Bakhsh, a worthy elderly person from the mountains north of Kashmir, as his substitute in case of illness—or some temporary outbreak of bad temper. The experience of previous journeys had warned me as to the necessity of this double string, and I owe it probably to its restraining influence that I was able to retain the services of both men in spite of all trials and bring them back to their homes in the end safely and in a state of contentment.

Ever since the plan of my journey was first formed I had been exercised in my mind by the difficulty of finding a practicable route which would take me across the great mountain barriers northward to the border of Chinese Turkestan on the Pamirs, and which was still new to me. By the initial portions of my previous journeys I had exhausted the only apparent alternatives of the Chitral and Hunza valleys leading to practicable crossings of the main Hindukush range. Even the devious route over the Karakorum passes I had seen on my return journey of 1908. But fortune seemed to favour me at the start, unexpectedly to open for me the eagerly desired new approach to my goal.

For long years I had wished to explore the important valleys of Darel and Tangir which descend to the Indus from the north some distance below Chilas. Darel (*Ta-li-lo*) is prominently mentioned in the accounts of old Chinese Buddhist pilgrims, partly because there passed through it a route which some of them followed on their descent from the uppermost Oxus to the Indus and the sacred sites of the Indian north-west frontier, and partly by reason of a famous Buddhist sanctuary it once contained. No Europeans had ever been able to visit these territories, as the disturbed political conditions of the local tribal communities, coupled with their fanatical spirit, effectively closed access to them. But in recent years Raja Pakhtun Wali, of the Kushwaqt family, once ruling Yasin and Mastuj, had, after an adventurous career, succeeded in founding and gradually extending a chiefship of his own among these small Dard republics. The desire of consolidating his rule and securing support for his children's eventual succession had led him a short time before to seek friendly relations with the Gilgit political Agency. When I learned of the opportunity chance thus offering I decided to use it for a new route to the Pamirs. The matter needed diplomatic handling. But finally the effective help given by my kind friend the Hon. Mr. Stuart Fraser, Resident in Kashmir, with the assent of the Indian Foreign Department, secured

for me the chief's permission to visit his territories. The conditions he thought fit to it were obviously meant to safeguard his political interests—and incidentally safety among his newly won subjects.

On 31 July 1913 I started from Srinagar, and proceeding by boat down the reached next day the little port of Bandipur on the Wular Lake. From there the our baggage was sent ahead with the second surveyor by the Gilgit military road to await us in Hunza. I myself with Lal Singh and Afrazgul left Kashmir through the side valley of the Lolab and struck north-westwards for the route which leads through the deep-cut gorges of the Kishanganga and its tributaries to the snowy passes of Barai and Fasat and then down to Chilas on the Indus. Bad weather pursued us from the time we entered the mountains, and already on the first eight days the tracks followed proved in many places impracticable for laden animals But it seemed appropriate Alpine training for the ground ahead, and there was an antiquarian interest to compensate me for the fatigues encountered; for various topographical considerations indicate that it was by this direct route to the Indus and thence to Gilgit that the Chinese received those annual supplies from Kashmir which alone, according to an interesting historical document preserved in the Annals of the T'ang dynasty, enabled them about the middle of the eighth century A.D. to maintain for some years imperial garrisons in Gilgit and Yasin. They thus prevented the junction between their great adversaries who then threatened Chinese hold on Turkestan—the Arabs in the west and the Tibetans in the south. It was, of course, the human beast of burden which alone made the use of such a route possible, and we have historical evidence to show how abundant its supply was in ancient Kashmir.

By August 10 we had descended from the snowy range which culminates eastwards in the huge ice-clad pyramid of Nanga-parbat (26,620 feet above the sea) to Chilas on the Indus, the last British post towards the independent territory of Dard tribes, known as the Indus Kohistan. The *Pax Britannica*, brought some twenty years before to what was once the most turbulent and fanatical of these petty hill republics, had worked curious changes in the position of the cultivated areas, etc., which without definite records a future antiquarian or geographer would find most difficult to interpret correctly. The heat of the summer is great in the deep-cut rock defiles of the Indus, and the banks forbiddingly barren. So I was glad when our descent in the Indus gorge next day could be effected on a skin raft, which the tossing current of the mighty river carried down at the rate of some 14 miles an hour. Though the snowy weather prevailing on the high ranges had caused the river to fall to some 24 feet below highwater level, yet the flood volume was still large enough to allow us to sweep down securely over what at other times is a succession of impassable rock ledges and rapids.

At the mouth of the Hodur stream we left the Indus behind and entered ground which offered ample scope for exploring work. Passing up the unsurveyed valley northward we found plentiful ruins of small fortified villages clearly dating back to pre-Muhammadan times and a great deal of abandoned cultivation terraces for which the supply of irrigation water now available would manifestly no longer suffice. Pushing up to the Unutai Pass we crossed the range which overlooks the Khanbari River and there reached the eastern border of Pakhtun Wali's latest conquests. As we descended westwards through the Datsoi Nullah by a track almost impassable for load-carrying men we were met by Pakhtun Wali's capable nephew, Mehtarjao Shah Alim, with a large and well-armed escort. It had been stipulated beforehand that not a single man from the territory under control of the British Agency of Gilgit was to accompany us. The careful watch kept over us from the start by Pakhtun Wali's select men at arms, wherever we moved or halted, seemed to afford adequate

protection from any fanatical attempt on the part of less trustworthy elements among his new subjects who might have liked to embroil him by an attack upon us. But I confess that it also at first caused me serious misgivings as to the freedom which might be left to us for useful topographical work.

It was quite as much regard for such work, as the wish to avoid the excessive summer heat of the Indus gorges, which had caused me to ask that we might be taken to Darel by the mountains at the heads of the Khanbari and Dudishal Valleys instead of the usual route, which leads through the former. It proved a difficult line of progress, even with such hardy porters for our baggage as Shah Alim had brought from the main Darel Valley. But its advantages for surveying operations were great, and fortunately I soon found that we were left full freedom to use them. The great spurs descending from the Indus-Gilgit watershed northward had to be crossed by a succession of high passes, between 13,000 and 14,000 feet, and these furnished excellent plane-table stations. The extensive views there obtained towards the great snowy ranges across the Indus and westwards on the headwaters of the Swat River permitted our positions to be fixed with accuracy from previously triangulated peaks. At the expense of much hard climbing we secured equally favourable conditions further on, and a protracted spell of fine weather made it easy to use them. R. B. Lal Singh, in spite of his fifty-one years, an age which Indians usually are apt to count as advanced, showed that he had lost none of his old zeal and vigour. Through his devoted exertions a fortnight's hard travel sufficed to map some 1200 square miles, on the scale of 2 miles to the inch, on ground which had never been surveyed or even seen by European eyes.

It was a pleasant surprise to find our tasks soon facilitated by the excellent relations we were able to establish with Mehtarjao Shah Alim and the band of Pakhtun Wali's trusted supporters who formed our ever-watchful guard. They were a strangely mixed crew, of distinctly shady antecedents, but all "handy" and pleasant to deal with. Most of these alert fellows were outlaws from Swat, Chitral, and the independent Dard republics on the Indus, who, with hands already blood-stained, had joined Pakhtun Wali's fortunes at one time or other of his adventurous career. Their burley fair-haired commander Shahid, whose look of jovial ruffian curiously contrasted with his name, meaning "martyr," had from the beginning played a prominent part in all the mixed feuds and intrigues by which their capable chief had raised himself from the position of a hapless refugee in Tangir to that of absolute master of that once turbulent valley. The means and methods by which Pakhtun Wali, in true Condottiere fashion, had subsequently extended his sway over the neighbouring hill republics of Darel and Sazin, had been equally unscrupulous, and recalled times long gone by elsewhere. His was the most recent kingdom carved out in the Hindukush, a region probably less touched by historical changes than any other in the north-west of India, and to glean first-hand information about the process employed was for me a very instructive and fascinating occupation. Nor did quick-witted Shah Alim and his band of intelligent henchmen fail me when it came to collecting exact data about local resources, population, etc., or raising or managing needful transport. Fully familiar with the ground, as their employment had made them, they yet kept a mental detachment from the local interests, regard for which would have induced reticence among more settled subjects.

The Khanbari River was found to drain an unexpectedly large mountain area, and in all the valleys splendid forests of pines and firs, quite untouched by the axe, were found to clothe the higher slopes. In the wider portions below old cultivation terraces, now abandoned, could be traced for miles. Judging from the size of the trees, the forest which has overrun them in most places dates back for centuries. There is an abundant supply of water for

irrigation from snowbeds and springs, and re-occupation of these fertile lands is retarded only by the great scantiness of population. Before Pakhtun Wali's conquest the Darelis had contented themselves with using the extensive grazing-grounds at the very head of the valleys, and only since the advent of more peaceful conditions has the slow immigration of Gujar settlers commenced. Whatever the cause of the original abandonment of these valleys may have been, it soon became obvious that they, like Darel and Tangir, enjoyed climatic conditions far more favourable in the matter of adequate rainfall than those prevailing higher up on the Indus or elsewhere between the Indus and the Hindukush. This abundant moisture may well be due to some feature in the orography of the Indus Valley, permitting the monsoon rains to advance here far beyond the line where their effect is stopped elsewhere by the high mountain chains southward.

The contrast with those denuded barren mountains to the north and east, which I remembered so well from my previous routes through Gilgit and Chitral, became even more striking as we descended from the Ishkobar Pass (*circ.* 13,650 feet) to the head of the main Darel valley. When encamped there at Nyachut, on rich Alpine meadowland and surrounded by mountain sides which magnificent forests of deodars and firs clothed for thousands of feet in height, I felt as if transported to the Sind or some other big side valley of Kashmir. Unfortunately there was little chance left to enjoy the delights of this glorious Alpine scenery while being constantly attacked by swarms of the particularly fierce mosquitoes which infest all Darel and Tangir. We met them first when approaching the Khanbari watershed from the east, and the trouble they gave steadily increased as we progressed. Even high up in the mountains we suffered severely from this plague which is apt to cause bad sores, as my surveyors and myself soon found by experience. There was little consolation in the fact that the local people suffer almost as much from the infliction, as their pock-covered skin showed, and that during the winter those tormentors descend to seek warmer quarters by the Indus. I often wondered whether their presence would not be an adequate defence of Darel against any permanent invasion by people concerned for their comfort.

When I moved down to the vicinity of Manikyal, the northern of the two extant walled townships of Darel, there revealed itself strikingly the remarkable openness of the main valley and the great extent of arable land on the wide plateaus flanking the middle course of the Darel River. The sight of this fertile area, all easy to irrigate, revealed at a glance the importance which Darel must have possessed in ancient times, and which with an adequate population and under a firm rule it could attain once more. But much of the land had passed out of cultivation long ago, and the great number of ruined sites gave striking confirmation of the observation. The survey of these ruins, all known as *kots*, "forts," kept me busy for several days, and showed that most of them were remains of fortified settlements dating back to pre-Muhammadan times. Rapid excavation near one of them, Bojo-kot, brought to light unmistakable relics of a Buddhist burial ground in the shape of cinerary urns, metal ornaments, etc. These ruins always occupy naturally strong rocky ridges bearing elaborately built terraces, and by their position and constructive features curiously recalled to my mind the extensive ruined settlements of the Buddhist period with which my explorations in the Swat Valley and on the Peshawar border had rendered me familiar. Archæological evidence thus seemed to bear out the tradition preserved in the Chinese pilgrims' records as to the early historical connection between the ruling families of Darel and Swat.

All antiquarian observations pointed to the territory having been occupied in Buddhist times by a much denser population than the present and one possessed of far greater material resources. Yet even now Darel contains a number of large crowded villages, some, like

Manikyal and Samagial, well deserving to be called towns. Again and again I was struck by lingering traces of an inherited civilisation a good deal more developed than that to be found now in the neighbouring hill tracts. Thus the alignment of the irrigation canals and the carefully preserved solid stonework of the terraces and embankments over which they are carried showed unusual skill. Another very significant feature was the abundance in houses, mosques and graves of fine wood-carving, retaining decorative motifs which are directly derived from Græco-Buddhist art as known to us from the ancient relievos of Gandhara, and which occur frequently also in the ornamental wood carvings excavated by me at sand-buried old sites of Chinese Turkestan.

The racial type of the Darelis as far as I could judge without anthropometric observations, for the collection of which there was no time, seemed to me unmistakably akin to that of the other Dard tribes which occupy the adjoining mountain territories. This close relationship is also borne out by their Shina dialect. But there was something in the often refined features of the men and their less heavily built frame, which vaguely suggested inheritance from generations weakened by a decadent civilization and a long period of internal disorder. They struck me distinctly as a race possessing the instincts of quasi-town-bred folk and needing a strong ruler.

On the evening of August 16 I was received by Raja Pakhtun Wali in full state at the castle of Gumarokot, which he was building in the centre of his recently annexed territory and as a stronghold to safeguard its possession against possible risings. The steep ridge which rises above it is occupied by the ruins of the large fort of Raji-kot, marking the ancient capital of Darel. It was a very interesting experience to meet the man who, after a career as chequered as befitted the son of Mir Wali, Hayward's murderer, had succeeded in building up a new kingdom for himself, the last, perhaps, which India has seen raised on the old adventurous lines. His human environment, in which Darelis are still kept much in the background, and the methods by which he maintains his rule seemed to call up times long gone by. There was much to claim my interest in what I heard from the shrewd and energetic Khushwaqt chief that evening, and during the long visit he paid me next morning with his two young sons; but this is not the place to record it. He had spared no care nor trouble to facilitate my safe journey through his territory and to make it as profitable as the limitations of my time permitted. I shall always look back with gratitude to the friendly welcome accorded, and with genuine interest and sympathy to the ruler.

It was a special satisfaction to me that on my way down Darel I was able to identify at Phoguch the site of an ancient Buddhist sanctuary which the Chinese pilgrims specially mention on account of its miracle-working colossal image of Maitreya Buddha in wood. The tomb of Shahakhel Baba, a Muhammadan Saint renowned for his miraculous powers and attracting pilgrims from many distant parts of the Hindukush region as well as Swat and the Indus Valley, attests here the continuity of local worship. Lower down we passed interesting ruins of castles once closing access to Darel. Then we ascended westwards by a precipitous track, difficult for load-carrying men, to the rugged high spur which divides Darel from Tangir. On reaching its top we were rewarded for a trying climb over bare rock slopes by the grand vistas which opened before us. Owing to its isolation the Shardai Pass commands wide views of Darel, Tangir, the Indus Valley, and the ranges beyond, and proved a truly ideal survey station. To the west there showed clearly the gap between precipitous snow-capped spurs,

where the Indus makes its sharp bend to the south. Access to this famous defile, where the bed of the mighty river is reported to contract into an exceedingly narrow rift, is closed by independent tribal territory. Even from afar European eyes saw it now for the first time. How I wished that a Pakhtun Wali's expansionist policy might open the route some day for exploring those Indus gorges, where the old Chinese pilgrims made their way south by the dreaded rock galleries "of the hanging chains." !

The descent to the Tangir River over cliffs and vast slopes of rock débris was a trying experience ; but the valley itself proved remarkably open and fertile. Fruit trees and vines were more plentiful than in Darel, and the mosquitoes a little less fierce. The population is scattered in clusters of hamlets, and showed a manly bearing. Of those fortified villages, in which the Darel people seem to have always sought shelter since early times, I could trace no ruins here. I had a very pleasant reception at Jaglot, where Paktun Wali had established his original stronghold, and where his family ordinarily resides. The original modest structure which he occupied as a refuge from Chitral had witnessed a memorable siege by the powerful Gabarkhel tribesmen who hold the upper portion of Tangir, and who then vainly tried to rid themselves of their ambitious exile-guest. Their defeat marked the first stage in Pakhtun Wali's rise to power. The old animosities seemed to be still smouldering here, and as we moved up the valley, our ever-watchful escort took special care to safeguard us from any attempt of Pakhtun Wali's old foes, or the fanatical "talib-ilms," or religious students, gathered in numbers round a famous Mullah at the mosque of Kami.

In the great forest belt at the head of the Satil branch of the valley hundreds of Pathans from Upper Swat and the independent tracts lower down the Indus were engaged in cutting the magnificent timber, an important source of revenue to Raja Pakhtun Wali. The timber is made to float down the Indus under arrangements with Kakakhel traders, who, owing to the sanctity enjoyed by their clan, are able to exploit this business in tracts otherwise far too risky. Here we were joined by Mian Shahzada, the uncle of Afrazgul, my Kakakhel surveyor, who for years had been in charge of these operations, and whose opportune intercession had helped to overcome the Raja's original scruples about our passage. Shahzada had charged himself with the responsibility of keeping all fanatical characters in these wood-cutters' camps out of mischief, and by his effective help amply earned the recommendation I could give him to the district authorities of his far-off home on the Peshawar border.

All arrangements worked smoothly to the end, and when on August 21 we safely reached the Sheobat Pass, over 14,000 feet in height, on the range which forms the watershed between the Indus and the Gilgit river drainage, it was with regret that I left behind Pakhtun Wali's fascinating dominion, from which we had just "lifted the Purdah." I was sorry to bid farewell to our hardy escort of outlaws, after meeting the large *posse* of respectable Gilgit levies which had waited on the other side of the pass to take charge of us. It was amusing to watch the ill-disguised expression of distrust with which the latter viewed our quondam protectors, some of them well remembered, no doubt, from their old raids and similar exploits. The ample and richly deserved rewards I gave to Pakhtun Wali's men however, sufficed to efface any unpleasant reciprocal feelings.

In order to reach the big Yasin Valley through which our northward route was to lead we had first to gain the Gupis post on the Gilgit River. The mountains to the south of the

latter have not yet been adequately surveyed. So it was scarcely surprising that the unexplored pass above Gafarbodo, which I chose as a short cut, proved nearly impossible for our load-carrying men. It took fully eight hours' scrambling over huge masses of rock débris left behind by ancient glaciers, the worst I ever encountered in this region, to reach the pass at an elevation of close on 16,000 feet.

Then I pushed up rapidly in the open and relatively fertile valley of Yasin. It leads due north, flanked by mighty spurs which descend from the glacier-crowned main Hindukush range, and has always been an important route, as it forms the nearest connection between Oxus and Indus. I found myself thus on ground claiming distinct historical interest, and there was a good deal even in things of the present to attest the strong Central-Asian influence to which it has been subject since early times. In addition to much fine old woodcarving in dwellings and mosques, I was able to trace a ruined Stupa with relics of Buddhist times and the remains of several old forts, which tradition significantly enough connects with early Chinese invasions.

It was owing to an early and historically well attested Chinese conquest of these valleys from the uppermost Oxus, that I felt a special interest in the glacier pass of the Darkot by which we crossed on August 29 to the headwaters of the Yarkhun or Mastuj River. It had been the scene of that remarkable exploit by which a Chinese force, despatched in A.D. 749 from Kashgar against the Tibetans, had effected its entry into Yasin and Gilgit. Already in May, 1916, on my way up from Chitral, I had been able to ascertain how closely the topographical features of the Darkot Pass agreed with the exact account which the Chinese Annals of the T'ang dynasty have preserved for us of General Kao Hsien-chih's famous expedition. I had then succeeded in reaching the top of the pass, 15,400 feet above the sea, from the Mastuj side; but no examination of the southern approach, which also figures in that account, had been possible.

In view of the very serious natural obstacles presented by the glaciers of the Darkot, Kao Hsien-chih's passage deserves to rank as a great military achievement, like his successful march across the whole width of the Pamirs, with a relatively large Chinese army, which preceded it, and to which I shall have occasion to refer further on. So it was a particularly gratifying find, when I discovered an old Tibetan inscription scratched into a large boulder on the track where it ascends by the side of a steep moraine flanking the southern glacier of the Darkot. It is very probable that it is a relic of that short-lived Tibetan advance on the uppermost Oxus which the T'ang Annals record towards the close of the second quarter of the eighth century, and which Kao Hsien-chih's adventurous expedition successfully stopped.

On the top of the Darkot I was met by Captain H. F. D. Stirling, of the 57th (Wilde's) Rifles, then commanding the Chitral Scouts, with fresh transport from the Mastui side. Thus the descent over the big and much-crevassed northern glacier could be effected without undue risk to men or baggage. I have special reason to feel grateful for the most effective arrangements made by Captain Stirling as I pushed on eastwards after crossing the Darkot. Our easiest route to the Chinese border would have led over the Baroghil saddle to Sarhad on the Oxus and thence across the Afghan Pamirs along the line I had followed in 1906. But apart from the fact that its use would have required the special permission of H.M. the

punish, that prompted him to issue the command; and when the latter carried it out with more than usual splendour, the king expressed his joy, declared it a worthy source of prestige, and authorised the prodigal to celebrate it everyday. The royal sanction was accompanied by a substantial grant for the purpose from the treasury. It was a conclusion unworthy of Raṅga Kṛishṇa, but his sin was a common sin of his line and of his time, and he could not overcome it.

All this would furnish a worthy theme for romance, but the true romance of Raṅga Kṛishṇa's life lay in his domestic life. Alone among the Nâik kings, he could control his passions. Temperance was a virtue of which his dynasty was entirely ignorant, but he shone in it. In a time when kings were not satisfied with scores of wives and hundreds of mistresses, he set a worthy example of virtue and of moderation by the constancy of his attachment to a single lady, a lady who was worthy of his love and found it impossible to live after his death. Raṅga Kṛishṇa's harem, in consequence, was not, as that of the other kings of his line, a seat of loose life or a source of scandal. His private life resembled that of a common man, and was characterised by real conjugal love and domestic bliss. The palace was, in his day, a temple of peace, not a breeding ground of jealousies, a home of affection and not of bestial pleasure. With him the safety and welfare of his people was not a secondary consideration of the usual type. They lived for themselves first, and then, if it all, for the people; but he lived for the people and for them alone.

His recovery of the lost territories.

Such was the character of the new king and it is not surprising that from the very moment of his accession things began to change for the better. His own vigorous personality would have been sufficient to alleviate the misery of his kingdom, but other circumstances intervened, which enormously lightened his task and ensured his success. The monarch of Mysore was attacked nearer at home by Sambaji[26], and in self-defence had to withdraw his legions from Madura. Ekoji was, in consequence of his own tyranny, troubled by a discontented populace; and his weak frontiers, moreover, were pierced by daring bands of Maravas and Kaḷḷas, who now entered the field with the hope of sharing in the tumults and plunders of the day. Ekoji thought it prudent, therefore, to withdraw from the kingdom of Madura. As for the formidable Sambaji, he was involved in wars with the Mughal Empire on the one hand, and with the Portuguese on the other, and so could not pursue his father's conquests in the Carnatic. The Sêtupati, again, had his own domestic troubles, for an ambitious Daḷawâi of his set the standard of rebellion, and taxed the resources of his master. All these events, together with the tactful statesmanship of Raṅga Kṛishṇa, relieved Madura from her recent ills. Within three years of his accession, Raṅga Kṛishṇa found himself the master of the whole of the extensive dominions of his ancestors, and the danger of the extinction, which had threatened the Kingdom of Viśvanâtha Nâik, was now warded off. Half a century more was to pass before it was to share the fate of its predecessors, and when it fell then, it fell for ever.

The kingdom was now safe, and Raṅga Kṛishṇa consecrated the first moments of peace to the strengthening of his power and the restoration of the country's prosperity. A firm and determined ruler, he made his influence felt throughout his dominions. His remarkable

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26 Wilks, I 59-60. Wilks is wrong in regard to the dates. Kumâra Râya, however, it is said, left his son Doḍḍa Dêva to continue the siege, but he evidently had soon to give it up.

industry secured a personal acquaintance with the most minute affairs of the kingdom. His watchful eye was everywhere, and he was ever on his feet. Restless and enthusiastic, he would proceed hundreds of miles to hear a single complaint or chastise a petty chief. The divided provinces, in consequence, became united; and the Polygars of the most distant provinces dreaded his displeasure, and paid a ready and willing homage. At Tinnevelly, whither he went, as we have already seen, to inquire into the alleged financial abuses of the viceroy, he received the respect and the tribute of all the Polygars of the province. Even the king of Travancore, who was apprised of the king's stay at Tinnevelly, hastened to enlist his good will by despatching a tribute of elephants (twelve in number) and horses, of treasure and ornaments. The historian cannot but admire the personal merit of this extraordinary king who, though so young in age, was so eminently successful in securing the allegiance of chiefs who, only a few months back, had regarded their suzerain as a nonentity and themselves as kings.

His justice.

In administration[27] Raṅga Kṛishṇa was not less successful. His administration was based on the principle of equity and reason. He was, like the rest of his dynasty, a friend, admirer and servant of the Brahmans. He loved to praise them and to be praised by them. He listened to their counsels, and built *agrahârams* and temples, choultries and tanks. He led an orthodox life, paid frequent visits to temples, and bestowed with a lavish hand the traditional charities of money, cows and lands on his advisers. Nevertheless, he never allowed the claims of justice to be overruled by his partiality. In the court he was superior to race consideration or caste privilege. Once in a dispute between the Brahmans and the Christians in regard to a piece of land, which the former had illegally seized for a religious purpose, the king ordered that the idols should be thrown into the river rather than that justice be violated under his regime. A prince with such noble views could hardly have secured the affections and obtained the blessings of the Brahmans at first; but the latter knew how to appreciate real merit. Moreover they succeeded, as we have already seen, in gaining his generous donations in other respects. They knew that if the king was severe, he was severe for the sake of justice; and they therefore took his rebukes in the proper spirit, and tactfully strengthened their own position by praising the spotless equity of his rule.

THE MOGHUL CONQUEST OF THE DAKHAN.

After the pacification of the kingdom, Raṅga Kṛishṇa placed his foreign policy on a stronger basis. His reign synchronised with momentous events in the Deccan. The Puritan Emperor Aurangzeb was engaged in a deadly struggle with the Hindu Marathas on the one hand, and the weak and half-Hinduised Sultans of Bijapur and Golcondah on the other, and by the year 1688 had conquered and annexed the latter kingdoms. With the extinction of Bijapur the Carnatic became the property of the Mughal Empire. The suzerain of the Nâiks of Tanjore and Madura was thenceforth not the Sultan of Bijapur nor the Maratha, but the Emperor of Delhi, and the latter lost no time in establishing the imperial power on a secure basis. For two years after the extinction of the twin kingdoms of the Deccan, Aurangzeb could not proceed against the South, as he was engaged in war with Sambaji. It was only after 1689, when Sambaji was

[27] An inscription of Arumbâvûr, 14 miles from Perambalûr in the Trichinopoly District, says that he made grants for the repair of a sluice in 1686 A. D. (*Antiquities*, II, p. 263).

captured and slain, and when owing to the flight of Raja Ram to Ginji, the war with the Marathas was extended to the South, that the emperor thought seriously of the completion of his conquests in the South. Raṅga Kṛishṇa's position, in consequence, was, during the last two years of his rule, a dangerous one. He had to keep strict vigilance against possible imperial vandalism. He had to see that his kingdom did not share the fate of the kingdoms of Bijapur and Golcondah. He had to be singularly vigilant in the north-west frontier, for in 1687 the Mysore king, Chikka Dêva Râj, purchased the District of Bangalore from Ekoji (who thus confined himself solely to Tanjore), for three *lakhs*; and when Kasim Khan, the Mughul general, seized it before the entry of the Mysore troops, he conciliated the emperor, and concluded, in return for the payment of allegiance, an agreement by which he got Bangalore, as well as a tacit permission to extend his territories in a direction that would not interfere with the Mughul operations. The friendship of the emperor assured, Chicka Dêva was ready to encroach into Madura territory. In 1688 and 1689[28] we find him invading the Kongu province, conquering the greater part of Baramahal, including Dharmapuri and Kâvêripaṭṇam, pushing his conquest into the Talaghat and annexing Omalûr, Paramatti and Âttûr-Anantagiri. This region had been previously conquered by Doḍḍa Dêva in 1667, but evidently recovered by Madura or by the local chiefs and Polygars. Hence the necessity of Chikka Dêva to subdue it. We have no authority which enables us to say what Raṅga Kṛishṇa did at this crisis. Probably, he yielded for the time and died before taking any steps to recover the lost districts.

The incident of the Mughal's slipper.

But if Raṅga Kṛishṇa could not take any steps against Mysore, he was able enough to defy the power of the haughty Musalman. A curious and highly interesting episode is narrated in the Telugu chronicle in illustration of his dignified attitude towards Muhammadan claims. It was the Padshah's custom in those days, it says, to send one of his slippers in great *eclat* with and in the midst of proper guards and solemn paraphernalia, as a mandate for the performance of homage and the payment of tribute by the feudatories of the Empire. The slipper was placed in a rich and magnificent howdah of an elephant, and defended by an army of 12,000 cavalry and 40,000 infantry, under the command of two Nawabs. All the honours were paid to the royal slipper which were paid to the king himself.

It was fanned by two chowries, and attended by banners and umbrellas, flutes and drums, and other insignia. When the procession reached the boundary of a State, the king of that State was bound to welcome it at the head of his troops, pay homage, and abase his ensigns before it. The king was then bound to take the imperial representative and its defenders to the capital, to resign his throne for a moment to it, and to give as a mark of his loyalty, obeisance and tribute, besides presents to the guardians of the worthy imperial representative! This custom, a capital example of the pride and slavery of kings, had not, however, extended, owing to distance, to "the Paṇḍya kingdom"; but in the reign of Raṅga Kṛishṇa, the imperial slipper, with all its insignia, came to the frontiers of the Madura kingdom at Ûṭṭattûr, and despatched the *inayithu nâma*, the news of its arrival, to the king. When the young and proud king of Trichinopoly heard the purport of the message and the claim for homage on his part, his indignation knew no bounds. He dismissed

28 Wilks I, 92; *Salem Manual* I, 53-4.

the *chobdars*, the messengers, from the imperial camp, with presents; and calling his Daḷavâi and other ministers, asked them to meet the Nawabs and tell them that he was too unwell to meet them at Samayâvaram. At the same time he revealed to them his desire to humble the Padshah's pride, and instructed them to conduct the *farmân* and the Nawabs, by device and by pursuasion, to the capital. The ministers succeeded in carrying out the king's orders, but at the expense of truth and of the invaders' good-will. At every stage of their journey, the latter asked why the king had not yet come, and were told that he was too unwell. In this way the slipper and the *sirdârs* were enticed into Trichinopoly, to the very gates of the palace, the army of course being stationed outside the fort. When they reached the palace, the indignant Musalmans, who thought it a disgrace to wait there, took the slipper in a palanquin and proceeded to the audience-hall. Mean-while Raṅga Kṛishṇa had prepared himself for this crisis. He invested himself with all paraphernalia and sat on the throne in the midst of an admiring and loyal audience. When the Nawabs came there, and saw the king's haughty attitude, they were seized with indignation. Pushing those who stood before them, they approached the throne and offered the slipper into the king's hands! The latter flew into an indignant rage, and in words of thunder, ordered the imperial messengers to place it on the floor. They naturally hesitated, but soon came to think discretion to be the better part of valour, and the orders from the throne might be followed by whips in case of disobedience. Raṅga Kṛishṇa then thrust one of his feet into the slipper, and loudly asked how it was that their Padshah had not the common sense to send the other! The agents, as might be expected, answered with all the vivacity of anger, accusing Raṅga Kṛishṇa of treason, and threatening chastisement in the near future. But loyal enthusiasm on their part was hardly serviceable in the Trichinopoly court. Beaten almost to death, they went outside the fort, and incited their army to attack the fortifications. But a large force of Trichinopoly infantry and 45,000 cavalry were more than a match for the invaders, who were cut up piece-meal. Never did the Padshah send again a similar message to his vassals!

Its meaning.

A tale so singular and interesting has naturally given rise to a good deal of controversy. It will be evident, from what has been said, that, if the slipper was sent at all, it should have been sent by Aurangzeb. The Sultans of Bijapur and Golkonda could not have done it, for the simple reason that at this time they were themselves a prey to Mughal greed, and by 1687 had ceased to exist. If any sovereign had despatched the slipper, therefore, it must have been their conqueror, the Puritan son of Shah Jahan. Could that have been the case? Was Aurangzeb, the embodiment of craft and cunning, the impersonation of statecraft, the author of such a tactless expedition? It taxes our credulity. The Musalman chronicles are completely silent about it. These, however, it may be argued, were partial, and carefully avoided a subject which was detrimental to their own reputation or interests. But what about Manucci, that great traveller, who was an eye-witness of these campaigns, and took a passionate delight in recording anecdotes like this? Why is he silent about an affair which, if it had happened, must have happened under his very nose? But a grasp of all the circum stances of the period does not make it improbable. Mr. Taylor believes it. He does not think the tale to be silly rodomontade. He sees in it a true expression and exemplification of Aurangzeb's egotism, of his desire to extend the boundaries of the

empire to the southernmost limits of India, of that spirit of supercilious contempt with which he regarded the feudatory princes, calling them petty chiefs and zemindars. The expedition of Zulfikar Khan in the reign of Mangammâḷ was probably a punitive[29] xpedition.

Raṅga Kṛishṇa's death.

In the midst of such a glorious career, the young king of Madura was struck down by small-pox, then, as now, a virulent curse to India. It was the greatest misfortune which could befall the unfortunate kingdom. If Raṅga Kṛishṇa had continued to live, he would in all probability have postponed the subjugation of his kingdom by the Mughals; and though his mother, Maṅgammâḷ, carried on the affairs of state with a remarkable capacity for fifteen years after his death, she could hardly fill his place. The 18th century was not an age for the rule of women in India. It was too unsettled, too much under influence of upstart powers and adventurous leaders, to allow the mild sceptre of a woman. Mangammâḷ was one among a million women. She was wise, generous and clever; yet even she failed to secure the independence of her state from Mughal domination, and underwent a tragic death.

The death of Raṅga Kṛishṇa was followed by one of the most romantic and tragic episodes of which Madura history is so full. It has been already mentioned that Raṅga Kṛishṇa had but one queen, to whom he was passionately attached and whose attachment to him was equally passionate. On his death Muttammâḷ expressed a strong resolve to imitate the heroines of antiquity and become *sati*. The people, however, looked on this attitude with mingled feelings of horror and admiration. Muttammâḷ was then in an interesting state, and the birth of a successor to Raṅga Kṛishṇa was expected.

(*To be continued.*)

29 See *Christian College Magazine*, Vol. XII, pp. 276-77 for a discussion of the probability of this event by J. D. B. Gribble. "The foregoing account is from a Hindu source, and there is nothing in any of the Mahomedan histories which in any way confirms it. It is probably exaggerated, especially as regards the number of Mahomedan army who were put to flight. It shows however that previous to this incident which occurred before the end of the 17th century, the custom of sending the slipper had been for some years in force, since the Trichinopoly Sirdars were acquainted with it, and that the emperor's over-rule was recognized, as the first impulse of the Sirdars was to show respect to the slipper, it is clear that for some time previously the Emperor's rule was recognized as far south as Trichinopoly. In the account of the transactions of the latter years of Aurangazeb's reign, translated by Scott from the narrative of a Bondela officer, we are told that in 1693 Zulficar Khan, the Emperor's great general, ... marched 60 *coss* from Gingi into the territories of Trichinopoly and Tanjore, and collected considerable contributions from the zemindars. The slipper embassy was probably subsequent to this expedition, and it was only 5 or 6 years later, when Aurangazeb's whole attention was taken with the Mahrattas, that so flagrant an insult could have been committed. Without therefore relying on the exact accuracy of the incident as here given, it proves that after the fall of Golkonda the emperor's armies overran the whole of the territories of that State and of Bijapur, and exercised a certain amount of control over the hitherto independent kingdom of Trichinopoly." Gribble is wrong in saying that the incident referred to is *subsequent* to Zulfikar Khan's expedition. For, if so, the incident must have taken place *after* 1693, while Raṅga Kṛishṇa Muttu Vîrappa died in 1689. It seems to me therefore that Zulfikar Khan's invasion was subsequent to, if not the immediate outcome of, Raṅga Kṛishṇa's treatment of the slipper. As regards Gribble's argument that the readiness of the Sirdars to pay allegiance to the slipper proves previous imperial supremacy, it seems to me that the inference does not necessarily follow from the fact, as the *sirdars* might have learnt it from hearsay rather than from their own experience, in the past. M. J. Walhouse believes, it may be added here, from the very minute and circumstantial nature of the story that it "wears much the appearance of truth." (*ante*, Vol. VII, p. 26.).

A HARAHA STONE-INSCRIPTION

BY NANIGOPAL MAJUMDAR, ESQR., CALCUTTA.

IN December 1915, Mr. R. D. Banerji, of the Archæological Survey of India, made over to me two excellent inked estampages of a Maukhari inscription which had not been published before.[1] These were procured from Pandit Hîrânanda Sâstrî, then Curator of the Lucknow Provincial Museum, who discovered the inscription at a place, called Hârâhâ, in the District of Barabânki, in the United Provinces.[2] Râjâ Raghurâja Singh Bahâdur, in whose territory the inscription was discovered, has made a gift of it to the Lucknow Museum,[3] where it is now *in situ.*

The inscription is incised on a slab of stone. The size of the inscription is 2′-2½″ long and 1′-4½″ broad. It consists of 22 lines. Excepting the engraver's name at the end of the inscription, it is entirely in verse. The language is Sanskrit and represents a highly artificial and complex style of composition. The incision is nicely executed and no letters have peeled off. They belong to the northern class of the later Gupta alphabets, such as were prevalent in the fifth and sixth centuries A. D. They are akin to and may be grouped with those of the Mandasore inscription of Yaśodharman, dated A. D. 532[4]. The object of the inscription is to record the reconstruction of a dilapidated temple of Śiva by Sûryavarman, son of Îśânavarman, the reigning king of the Maukhari dynasty.

Before the discovery of this inscription, five other records of the Maukhari dynasty were already known :

(1) Two of king Anantavarman, incised on the Nâgârjunî Hill-Caves.[5]

(2) A third inscription of king Anantavarman, incised above the door-way of a cave on the Barâbar Hill.[6]

(3) The Jaunpur inscription of king Îśvaravarman.[7]

(4) A Copper-seal inscription of king Sarvavarman, discovered at Âsirgadh, in the Nimâr District, in the Central Provinces.[8]

The above inscriptions are all undated ; so scholars were forced to rely mainly upon palæographical grounds, in order to assign them to a particular period of Indian history. The great importance of the Hârâhâ inscription lies in its being dated. The date is expressed in a chronogram which runs thus :—

Ekâdaśâtiriktêshu shaṭsu śâtitavidvishi
Śateshu śaradâm patyau bhuvaḥ Śrîśâna-varmaṇi.—v. 21.

The above verse gives the year 611 (600+11) of a particular era, the name of which is not mentioned. But there is little doubt that it must be assigned to the Vikrama era, which makes it equivalent to A. D. 554. The reasons in support of this, are simple. King Mâdhavagupta, we know from the Aphsaḍ inscription,[9] was a contemporary of king Harshadeva, or Harshavardhana, who reigned approximately from A. D. 606 to 647. So Mâdhavagupta must have lived in the first half of the seventh century A. D. The Maukhari king Îśânavarman to whose reign this inscription belongs, was a contemporary

[1] When I was engaged in deciphering the inscription, a reading together with an impression of the same appeared in a Hindi monthly, called the *Sarasvati.*—1322 B. S., pp. 80-86.

[2] *Annual Report* of the Lucknow Provincial Museum, for the year ending 31st March, 1915, p. 3.

[3] *Ibid.* for the year ending 31st March, 1916. p. 3 (Appendix D, p. 8.)

[4] Fleet's *Gupta Inscrs.*, pl. XXII.

[5] *Ibid.* pp. 223-26 ; 226-28.

[6] *Ibid.* pp. 221-23.

[7] *Ibid.* pp. 228-30.

[8] *Ibid.* pp. 219-21.

[9] Fleet's *Gupta Inscrs.*, pp. 203 4.

of king Kumâragupta,[10] the great-grandfather of Mâdhavagupta, as the Aphsaḍ inscription represents him to have fought with the former. So it stands to reason that the date of Îśânavarman must be placed earlier than the first half of the seventh century. Now, in order to get a date that would be earlier than the first half of the seventh century, we are constrained to refer the year 611 to the Vikrama era. No other era can give us a date slightly earlier than the time of Harshavardhana. Our conclusion is also not opposed to the palæographical considerations.

In the *Annual Report* of the Lucknow Museum,[11] it was suggested that, "Taking *atirikta* (see the verse quoted above) in the sense of superfluous, the other possible meaning will be 589." Now, according to Mr. Burn, some coins of Śarvavarman, son and successor of Îśânavarman, bear the date A. D. 553[12]. If we accept this, we have to reject the year 611 (A. D. 554), which our inscription gives for Îśânavarman; for unless we do so, the dates of the son and father overlap each other, which is contrary to the natural course of things. If we reject the year 611, we have got to accept the only other 'possible' date, which is 589 Vikrama era, *i. e.* A. D. 532. But before we do so, it is important for us to know for certain, whether the coins of Śarvavarman actually give us a date and whether that date is equal to the Christian year 553. Through the kindness of Mr. R. D. Banerji, I had occasion to examine the hoard of Maukhari coins (discovered in the Fyzabad district)[13] now deposited in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. I am sorry to say that the date-marks on the coins of Śarvavarman (as well as of other Maukhari kings) have totally disappeared and as such it is impossible to say at which particular date those coins were issued. So it is better not to infer anything from them and hazard a doubtful reading that may or may not be correct. I may also add that Mr. Banerji is also of the same opinion, and I am sure that will be the opinion of all who examine the coins with any care. I therefore feel inclined to reject the date given by Mr. Burn for Śarvavarman's coins, and accept the year 611 as the only possible date at which the inscription belonging to the reign of Îśânavarman might have been incised.[14]

The Âsirgaḍh seal gives a genealogy of the Maukhari princes down to Śarvavarman.[15] The present inscription adds one more name to the Maukhari list. This is Sûryavarman, another son of Îśânavarman. But it omits the name of Śarvavarman. The inscription opens with two laudatory verses in honour of the god Śiva. Then follows the usual genealogy beginning with Harivarman, the first king of the dynasty (v. 4). From him was born Âdityavarman. He was a pious man, and frequently performed sacrifices (vs. 6-7). Îśvaravarman was his son (vs. 8-10). From him was born Îśânavarman, who was, as it were, the beaming moon in the firmament of subordinate kings (*râjanrâjakamaṇḍalâmvaraśaśi*—v. 11). The 13th *śloka*, which gives a description of the conquests of Îśânavarman, is very important. It runs as follows :—

Jitvândhrâdhipatiṃ sahasragaṇita-tredhâksharatvârṇanam
Vyâvalgânniyutâtisaṃkhyaturagân bhaṅktvâ raṇe Śûlikâm
Kṛitvâ châyatimochitasthalabhuvo Gauḍân samudrâśrayâ—
Nadhyâsishṭa natakshitiśacharaṇaḥ siṃhâsanaṃ yo jiti

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[10] *Ibid.* p. 203.

[11] For the year ending 31st March, 1915, p. 3, foot-note.

[12] *J. R. A. S.* 1906, pp. 848-49.

[13] *Ibid.*

[14] Before examining the coins I was of opinion that the chronogram yields the year 589—*Vaṅgîya-Sâhitya Parishat-Patrikâ*, 1323 B. S., p. 289. But now I give it up.

[15] *F. G. I.*, p. 220.

From the above it follows that Îśânavarman defeated in battle the king of the Andhras, and the Sûlikas and the Gauḍas who were all compelled to accept his sovereignty. When he was ruling the earth, his son Sûryavarman was born. One day when the prince was out a-hunting, he lighted upon an old temple of Śiva, which he caused to be reconstructed (v. 20). The building was finished in the rainy season of the year 600 exceeded by 11, when Îśânavarman was the lord of the earth (v. 22). The poet of the inscription is Raviśâṃti, son of Kumâraśaṃti, an inhabitant of Garggarâkaṭa (v. 23). The name of the engraver then follows. It was incised by Mihiravarman.

The most interesting point of the foregoing summary is Îśânavarman's victory over the Andhra king, the Sûlikas and the Gauḍas. The old Andhra empire had now perished; so it is not quite certain what is signified here by the mention of an Andhra king. Who the Sûlikas were, is also not known. According to Fleet, they are identifiable with the Mûlikas, mentioned in the *Bṛihat-saṁhitâ* (XIV, 48, 23). Fleet places them in the north-western frontier.[16] The tribe or country *mûlaka*, mentioned in the Nâsik cave-inscription of Balaśrî,[17] mother of the Andhra king Śrî Sâtakarṇi Gotamiputra, is identified with Mûlikâ by Prof. Rapson.[18] In former times the letters *Sa* and *Ma* were often interchangeable. So it might be that the Sûlika stands here for the Mûlika or Mûlaka. The defeat of the Andhras is also mentioned in a mutilated inscription[19] of the Maukhari king Îśvaravarman, father of Îśânavarman. The portion in which the name of the man who defeated them was mentioned, is broken. But it is probable that the allusion is to their defeat by the armies of king Îśvaravarman. This is clear from the Hârâhâ inscription. It is apparent from the verse quoted above that Îśânavarman's glorious undertakings preceded his sitting on his father's throne *i. e.* they took place when his father was still ruling. This creates a strong presumption in favour of what is stated above, that probably the defeat of the Andhra king, mentioned in the mutilated Jaunpur inscription, is to be assigned to the reign of Îśvaravarman. It is interesting to note that the name *Gauḍa* occurs for the first time in the new inscription from Hârâhâ. We do not as yet know what local dynasty was ruling in Bengal in the sixth century A. D. But the conquest of the province by the Maukharis undoubtedly signalises the extinction of Gupta rule in Bengal.

I think, it is necessary here to point out that the discovery of this dated inscription of the Maukharis settles the chronology of the several undated Maukhari inscriptions hitherto discovered. The Jaunpur inscription, as it belongs to the reign of Îśvaravarman, father of Îśânavarman, must be put earlier than the year A. D. 554 the only known date at which Îśânavarman was ruling. It may be safely placed in the last quarter of the fifth or the first quarter of the sixth century. For the three other undated inscriptions which are on the Barâbar and Nâgârjunî Hills an unusually late period is suggested by Mr. C. V. Vaidya.[20] According to him the Maukhari princes mentioned in them are to be assigned to a date later than that of Harsha. But the letters of the inscriptions of Anantavarman are older in form even than those of the Hârâhâ inscription. The tripartite *ya* which is a characteristic of the Kushân and the Early Gupta alphabets,[21] is used promiscuously along with its later developed form, in the Hârâhâ inscription. But in the inscriptions of Anantavarman only the tripartite form of *ya* is to be met with. This is a clear indication that they are of considerably earlier date.

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[16] *Ante.*, 1893, p. 186.

[17] *Epi. Ind.*, VIII. pp. 60, 62.

[18] *Catalogue of Coins of the Andhra Dynasty*, p. XXXI.

[19] '*Vindhyâdreḥ pratirandhramandhrapatinâ saṁkṣiparen'sitam*'—Fleet's *Gupta Inscrs.*, p. 230.

[20] *Jour. Bomb. As. Soc.*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 244-5.

[21] Bühler's *Indian Palæography* (English Translation), p. 48; *c. f.* Bühler's *Tafel*, IV, Vols. XI—XII and XIII, 32.

JOHN FAITHFULL FLEET.

BY L. D. BARNETT.

INDIAN STUDENTS have suffered a grievous loss by the death of Dr. J. F. Fleet, C.I.E., which took place on the 21st February last. He had been for some time past in enfeebled health, suffering especially from an affection of the lungs; but he maintained his interest in his favourite studies until a few weeks before his death. His departure is deeply mourned by all who have known him; and the sorrow of his friends in England will be equally shared by those in the Presidency of Bombay, for it was there that he spent most of the thirty years of his duty as an official of the Indian Civil Service, happy years of vigorous youth and manhood spent in faithful work for the welfare of the Indian people and for the advancement of the studies in which he was the acknowledged master. Often in his later years he used to speak with tenderness and admiration of his old friends the Kanarese peasantry, and recall the days that he had spent among them, listening after office hours to their tales and recording their ballads. A capable and wise administrator, as well as a profound and successful investigator of scientific truth, he leaves behind him a record of work supremely well done.

John Faithfull Fleet, the son of John George Fleet, of Chiswick, and his wife Esther Faithfull, was born in 1847, and educated in London at the Merchant Taylor's School. In 1865 he was appointed to the Indian Civil Service, and in preparation for his work in India studied at University College, London, among other things learning Sanskrit from Theodor Goldstücker. He arrived in Bombay in 1867, and entered the Revenue and Executive Branch of the Service. His official career may be briefly summarised. He became successively Assistant Collector and Magistrate, Educational Inspector for the Southern Division (1872), Assistant Political Agent in Kolhapur and the Southern Maratha Country (1875), Epigraphist to the Government of India (1883), Junior Collector, Magistrate, and Political Agent at Sholapur (1886), Senior Collector (1889), Commissioner of the Southern and Central Divisions (1891-1892), and Commissioner of Customs (1893); he retired in 1897. With his official work his scientific and literary studies went hand in hand. He applied himself at once to the investigation of the epigraphic records of the Bombay Presidency, and speedily proved himself to be possessed of all the qualities needful for this work. His mind was vigorous, exact, and acute, his judgment sober and judicious; he had a deep and accurate knowledge of the Sanskrit and Kanarese languages and literatures, and of astronomy and epigraphy; and he handled details with consummate mastery. His early papers in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* already showed these qualities, and marked him as a coming leader of epigraphic and historical studies. From its foundation in 1872 onwards he took a keen interest in the *Indian Antiquary*; he was its joint editor with Sir Richard Carnac Temple from volume XIV to volume XX, and many of his most valuable papers appeared in it. He published for the India Office in 1878 his "Pâli, Sanskrit and Old-Canarese Inscriptions," a useful and scholarly collection, which however was eclipsed in 1888 by his "Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings and their Successors," forming volume III of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, a splendid piece of work from every point of view, which by establishing the epoch of the Gupta dynasty in A. D. 319-320 laid the key-stone of Indian chronology. Another very valuable work was his "Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts in the Bombay Presidency," which was published in 1895 as volume I, Part I, of the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*; in this he put together in orderly arrangement the vast amount of data collected by him from epigraphic and literary sources which bear on the history of those ancient kingdoms. After his return to England he devoted himself with characteristic energy to his favourite studies. He became in 1907

Honorary Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, which in 1912 awarded him its Gold Medal; and he published numerous papers and notes in the *Journal* of the Society, besides occasional contributions to the *Epigraphia Indica* and other publications. That the sciences of Indian chronology and epigraphy now stand on firm scientific bases is mainly due to him; and it is a noble monument to his life's work.

JOHN FAITHFULL FLEET AND THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY

BY RICHARD C. TEMPLE.

I have always looked on my old friend, John Faithfull Fleet, as one of the chief founders of our present knowledge of ancient and mediæval Indian history, and as I was intimately connected for some years with his work in this *Journal* I should not be doing justice to his memory if I failed to draw attention to the extent to which we are indebted to his invaluable researches for what we can say we know accurately on the subject. Any kind of study that would throw light on the history of India was of absorbing interest to him—whether it related to epigraphy, chronology, historical geography, philology or literature—and whenever he handled any special point he did it with a thoroughness and a painstaking accuracy that from the first commanded my respect and admiration.

This *Journal*, now in its 47th year, was founded, amid many gloomy prognostications as to its prospects on the part of Indian scholars, in 1872, by Dr. James Burgess, who also has recently passed away. Fleet was connected with it from its very first year and my own connection began in 1879. Soon afterwards, in 1883, I began to help him with the reproduction of his epigraphical plates. In 1884 the state of Dr. Burgess' eyesight obliged him to contemplate giving up his editorship and it was taken on by Fleet and myself in 1885. For the next seven years we conducted it jointly, Fleet being for that period its principal contributor. In 1892 he also gave up the editorship and since that date it has fallen to me to carry it on, sometimes alone and sometimes with coadjutors. But though Fleet was not again associated with me as an editor, he never ceased to take an active interest in the *Journal* and contributed to its pages in his own valuable way from time to time, his very last article being by a curious coincidence an obituary notice of our old mutual friend, Dr. James Burgess.

Before going into the details of Fleet's connection with the *Indian Antiquary*, I cannot do better than transcribe here a note he left behind him on two points in his work which gave him the greatest satisfaction, especially as it shows wherein he thought it would prove of most value in the future.

"There are two things in connection with my work, which have always given me great gratification.

"One is that it was I who led my friend, the late Professor Kielhorn, to take a share in working on the inscriptions of India. As we all know, his great speciality was the study of Sanskrit grammar, with the help of the oral tradition accessible only by residence in India, to supplement the written books: and he devoted himself almost entirely to that as long as he remained in India. But I had aroused his interest in the inscriptions, by occasionally consulting him on difficult points of interpretation. That led him to recognize the great importance of them, as regulating, by the details and dates which they furnish, everything about the ancient history of the country that we can learn from tradition, literature, coins, art, architecture or any other source.

"From soon after his retirement in 1881 he applied himself largely to epigraphic work; with the result that he gave us, not only critical and valuable editions of many inscriptional texts, but also lists, with abstracts of contents, of all the published inscriptions of Northern and Southern India from about A. D. 400 onwards. And in doing that, he did quite as much as any one has done towards placing the science of Indian epigraphy on a sound basis.

"The other matter is in connection with my settlement of the initial year of the Gupta era. As I have made clear in my introduction to the volume of the Gupta inscriptions, I could not have determined this point without the help of the late Mr. Shankar Balkishan Dikshit. It rested on the exact determination of the equivalents of the dates given in some of the inscriptions. At that time we could only calculate Hindu dates approximately, with results which might or might not be correct, and so could not give any certainty. I was then in charge of the Sholapur district and was in camp at Barsi towards the end of 1886.

"Mr. Dikshit, who was then an Assistant Master in the English school at that town, came to my tents and made himself known to me. He had seen one or another of my articles on the matter in question which had excited his interest: and he came to me because he was able to take the matter to its conclusion. I soon found that that was the case. He was well versed in astronomy, both Hindu and European, and was in fact, a joint worker with other people in the making of almanacs. And he made the calculations, some of them very laborious, which enabled me to prove that the first Gupta King began to reign in A. D. 320. The matter, moreover, did not end there. At my request, Mr. Dikshit published an explanation of the process by which we could calculate the exact Christian date of any given Hindu lunar date by means of tables which had been published by Professor Kero Lakshman Chhatre, a well known mathematician and astronomer.

"This aroused general interest in this line of research, and led to the publication of other processes and tables by Professor Jacobi and by Mr. Dikshit himself in collaboration with Mr. Sewell, by means of which we can now deal satisfactorily with Hindu dates of all kinds, no matter how complicated the details of them may be.

"I have not much more to say. If life were long enough, I should like to re-edit up to date almost everything that I have published. In all the lines of research in which I have worked, our progress was for a long time very tentative: indeed, in some respects it still is so. In such circumstances, it is impossible to avoid making mistakes: and I have written much that I should like to correct, and some things which I should like to cancel altogether. However, I doubt if I shall ever see my way to doing much in that direction: new points of urgent interest arise so constantly that it is difficult to go back on past ground, except in the way of incidental and sometimes quite tacit correction. I can only express the hope that writers who may wish to quote me will look to my later writings in preference to the earlier ones."

One of the interesting things that command our attention from a survey of Fleet's contributions to this *Journal* is that it discloses the history of Indian epigraphical research almost from its commencement as a systematic study. The very first note he contributed relates to the clearing of inscriptions covered with paint and oil after the Indian fashion, so that they may be properly read and reproduced.

In the same first volume Fleet published a Canarese inscription with a translation and lithographed text. In 1873 he had a note on Sanskrit and Canarese Inscriptions, foreshadowing the great work that he performed in subsequent years. In 1874 occurs the first of a long series of philological notes: it was on the Sanskrit name for the ring finger, *anâmikâ*. In 1875 he had an article on an old Canarese Inscription without a plate, but it was in this year that he commenced his splendid series of Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions critically edited, together with disquisitions on the dates, pedigrees and facts disclosed. These papers were accompanied by printed texts and illustrated by reproductions of the originals by William Griggs (who has now too passed away) from Fleet's facsimiles, or from facsimiles made under his superintendence, with extraordinary care and accuracy. In this year he began with 8 of these inscriptions and carried on the series till

1891, by which time he had given 196 of them to the world of Oriental scholarship. From 1875 till 1892 he took a large share in the contributions to the *Indian Antiquary*, making it the chief journal dealing with Indian epigraphy.

In 1876 Fleet commenced a long series of critical notes and contributions on writings directly purporting to relate to Indian History with an article on the *Chronicle of Toragal*, which was followed by a criticism of Dr. Rice's Western Chalukhya Grants of Kirttivarman in 1879, a subject to which he returned in 1881. It was in 1879 also that we saw the beginnings of his long and all important studies in Indian Chronology in most interesting notes on the use of the term *saṁvat* for "a year," controverting older ideas thereon: on the Chalukhya Vikrama Varsha (era): and on the dating of inscriptions in the years of the King's reign in South India, this last being a long disquisition. In 1881 he began to record notes on newly found inscriptions on stone and copper-plates. Later on he induced owners of the latter to place them in his hands for decipherment and publication.

In 1883 he began to give to the world the results of his researches in two important directions—firstly, the study of Indian Eras, commencing with an article of moment at the time on "the Nomenclature of the Principal Hindu Eras, especially the Sâka and Vikrama", and secondly, notes on local historical geography, a subject he considerably developed later on. Philological observations relating to the meaning of technical terms used in inscriptions also claimed his constant attention at this time. He further produced in this year an historical disquisition on the Ganga Dynasty in Southern India, then but little known.

In the volume for 1884 was made public a great service to Indian epigraphy and history. At much expense and labour, and as the result of exceptional skill and patience, faithful facsimiles of the Pillar Edicts of Asoka at Delhi and Allahabad had been taken by Fleet and those working under his superintendence. These were reproduced in the *Indian Antiquary* with the accuracy that always distinguished the work of Griggs and transcripts of them were given by Bühler in the Devanâgari character, settling the question of the actual text for good and all.

From this year Dr. Burgess ceased to be Editor and this *Journal* passed into the hands of Fleet and myself with the volume for 1885. Fleet was now its principal contributor, carrying on vigorously his Sanskrit and Canarese Inscriptions and his notes on geography, chronology, history and philology, with occasional articles on palæography and epigraphy. He also commenced in this year his long series of notes and articles on coin legends, as illustrating statements in inscriptions and literature, with those of the Guptas, and on Canarese Ballads, text, translation and music. In the seven years 1885-1891 he filled the *Journal* with article after article and note after note on the above subjects, by way of direct contributions or of criticism of the work of contemporary writers. Any kind of information which could throw light on the story of ancient India at once claimed his earnest attention and he read and expounded it out of the fullness of his own knowledge thereon. He thus produced in 1886 his first speculations on the Epochs of Indian Eras, commenting on the Gupta Era, on the Sâka Era in 1888, and on the Gupta-Valabhi Era in 1891. In 1887 he began his Calculations of Hindu Dates, carrying them on at times till 1891 and producing altogether 48 of them. In this matter he did not confine himself to the doings of peoples and kings, for in that year he enquired into the dates of Sankarâchârya and the poet Râjasekhara. In 1888 he printed an article, of great importance for the time, on the Summary of Results for the Epoch and Origin of the Gupta Era—results achieved by the combination of the work of skilled Indian epigraphists and European

astronomers, involving prolonged and immense labour. The year 1889 found Fleet engaged in another line of epigraphic study of much consequence in its way to historical research :—the critical examination of ancient forgeries of grants. Of these he produced in time a considerable number, with reasons for his opinions on them. The seals of royal grantors in epigraphical documents and the pedigrees disclosed by inscriptions, seals, coins and literary works were necessarily constantly in his mind, and in 1890 he published what was at that date an important note on the Ehîtarî Seal of Kumâragupta II. and the Gupta Pedigree.

After the volume for 1891 had been issued Fleet ceased his connection with the *Indian Antiquary* as a Joint Editor, and it fell to myself to continue the *Journal*, but it will be seen that I have been able to record above sufficient to show that his efforts had made it by that time the principal exponent of Oriental research in private hands, and beyond doubt the chief vehicle for the publication of Indian epigraphical studies. Although Fleet continued to help the periodical in his own line of study, the character it had acquired as essentially an historical and epigraphical publication had perforce to change by reason of his retirement from a share in its conduct and also for the reason that the Government of India had begun to take the direction of study of epigraphy into its own hands. At great risk and cost to its proprietors, Fleet and myself, the *Indian Antiquary* had trained and maintained for years, under Fleet's direction, a private staff for the purpose of discovering, collecting (a very delicate matter), and reproducing in facsimile, epigraphic records of all sorts. It was this fact that made much of what we were able to publish available to scholars and others interested in Indian historical research. When, however, the Government stepped into the field, fresh documents and evidence naturally went into the hands of its own servants through the agency of local officials instructed to collect and forward them to certain Government offices. An official *Journal* was started in 1891 for the purpose of publishing them—the *Epigraphia Indica*, and in time the private staff of the *Indian Antiquary* had to be broken up. However, after some negotiation, the *Indian Antiquary* became in 1894-5, through its *Supplement*, now the *Epigraphia Indica*, the official channel for the publication of the Government's collections under the editorship of Government officers, and has remained such ever since.

Although Fleet's contributions after 1891 related to his favourite subject (including epigraphy, chronology and philology), ancient Indian topography and historical geography formed the chief part of them, and between 1892 and 1910 he produced a great series of articles and notes on ancient place names and the identification of their sites. He also wrote for me obituary notices of three mutual friends of long standing—Shankar Balkishan Dikshit, who died in 1898 while yet a young man, and Sir James Macnabb Campbell in 1903, and finally, just before his own death he published this year an account of the oldest of them all, Dr. James Burgess, the founder of the *Indian Antiquary*.

I do not like to say much more. It is natural to find, after 33 years of close association, in my capacity of editor-proprietor of this *Journal*, with many scholars and writers of mark on Indian subjects, that the great majority have passed away or have ceased to be able to contribute largely, and that the work must now be handed on to a younger band of men devoted to the same class of studies. It may be a mistaken judgment, out of old friendship and association, but I have always regarded Fleet as in the forefront of the pioneers who have shown the way to the rising generation of scholars desiring an accurate knowledge of the ancient and mediæval history of the Indian Empire. I can only hope that the generation yet unborn, which will be able to pronounce a detached and well proportioned judgment on all of us, will be of the same opinion.

MISCELLANEA.

NOTES ON SIND.

I

The Position of Mt. Eiros.

It is often considered that the task of identifying the stations along Alexander's route borders so nearly on the impossible that mere conjecture will do for the purpose of argument. For instance, Mr. V. A. Smith is quite willing to assume that Hyderabad corresponds with the position of Patala, though he does not believe it. It will be something gained therefore if we can fix some points.

Alexander's great difficulty in leaving India was to arrange for water supply across Karachi Taluka and Baluchistan, *i. e.*, the *bárâni* limestone area north-west of the Indus delta. Similarly Nearchus with the fleet had to take every precaution, and one may be very sure—and the authorities are clear—that from his base in the delta Alexander explored the route to the west very carefully before setting out.

Now where is water available in the Karachi Taluka? In the River Habb, the western frontier of Sind, in the bed of the Lyari (by excavation), in the bed of the Malir (by excavation) and at Rorhi from springs at the foot of the cliff. In the neighbourhood of Rorhi is a fissure specially sacred to a crocodile and still known as Wâghodar, the crocodile's doorway. Of the antiquity of the cult of the crocodile in the delta of the Indus there can be no doubt, nor can there be any doubt of the fact that Krokala really means the "crocodile's place"—for the name is not given as a local name.

Now the identifications proposed are these:—

Eiros = Rorhi.
Krokala = Wâghodar.
Songades = Songal, the name of a Makán north of Karachi.

The accompanying maps fully bear out the descriptions in Arrian.

Then the first harbour after Rorhi, the large and commodious Alexander's Haven, is Ghizri Creek, the mouth of the river Malir. It was protected by an island which has now become "tied." The subsoil water around the lower course of the Malir River is very brackish, as sea water percolates through this sandy soil. The bay sheltered by the island of Domai must be Karachi Harbour lying under the lee of Manora, and water would be obtained by sending fatigue parties inland to dig in the bed of the Lyari.

These identifications appear to be exact. Now Krokala was 120 stadia—"following the windings of the coast"—from the mouth of the river. This distance (fourteen miles) corresponds almost exactly with that of the Khudi "creek", a creek which is in reality a huge lagoon. Now the Khudi creek is the sea-ward end of the abandoned Khânwah, a canal which was once a bed of the Indus. Again Alexander knew of two mouths of the Indus, of which the "right" one was too treacherous for use by his fleet. It follows then that the Khânwah was the "left" branch and the Khudi estuary, the lake in which bathing resulted in "Sind sores."

One can only conclude then that the Gharo creek was the "right" arm, that Bhambhor was the island of Killoutis and that Patala was somewhere near Gujo, where the Khanwah and Gharo channels bifurcated.

G. E. L. CARTER.

BOOK-NOTICES

AITIHÂSIKA RÂSA SAṂGRAHA. BY VIJAYA DHARMA SÛRI. Fasciculi I and II, (1916-17); pp. 96 and 74 resp. Bhawnagar, Saraswati Press. (In Gujarâtî).

The Series which the distinguished Jain Acharya Vijaya Dharma Sûri is inaugurating with the two *fasciculi* mentioned above for the publication of Jain *râsas* possessing some historical value, is certain to be welcome to different classes of readers: the student of Jain religion and literature, the student of Old Gujarâtî, and the student of the mediæval history of Gujarat and Rajputana. The Series promises to throw a new and considerable light on a very important section of the vernacular literature of the Jains in Western India, which has been so imperfectly known to this day, and in particular to help to establish what real value these *râsas* have in connection with the history of the periods and personages to whom they refer and which place they are to be given in the classification of the materials for the mediæval history of India.

That the Editor himself wishes to consider this legendary literature chiefly from an historical point of view, is borne out not only by the title given to the Series, but also by the introduction to the first *fasciculus*, and still more by the erudite notes given in illustration of names of persons and places occurring in the texts. These notes, teeming as they do with references to historical works and inscriptions—often inedited, discovered by the Editor in the course of his *vihâras* through Rajputana or Gujarat—, and supplying as they do names and dates in an accurate form, constitute, perhaps, the most useful and genial part of the work. Each *fasciculus* is divided into three parts: the first

containing an abridged prose translation of the particular *râsas*, illustrated by the notes mentioned above, the second containing the poetical texts, and the third containing lists of obsolete or difficult words occurring in the texts, with renderings in modern Gujarâtî. The edition of the texts does not claim to be critical, it is merely a faithful copy of the manuscripts, but as these are for the most part accurate, the absence of philological criticism is not much felt. The language of the *râsas* is Old Gujarâtî, and the works contained in the first two *fascicui*, with which we are concerned, were composed between *Saṃvat* 1589 and 1741.

Of course, it could not reasonably be expected that all the works which form the subject of the Series should be equally important from the historical point of view. The fact that the *râsas* selected for publication are defined as *aitihâsika* in the title given to the Series, does not mean anything except that the personages described or mentioned in them are historical. But the particulars given of the life of these personages are not always so. In most cases the account is fantastical and full of supernatural facts, miracles, etc., which may be believed by the devout Jain, but are mere rubbish to the critic. The *râsas* contained in the first *fasciculus* are six, and they deal with the subjects following:—

1. *Kocara Vyavahârî Râsa.* Composed by Guṇa Vinaya in *Saṃvat* 1687. It contains a legend concerning Kocara, a Vîsò Poravâṛa of Salakhaṇapura (near Aṇahilapura Pâṭaṇa), who became lord of twelve villages and proclaimed the *amâri* (prohibition of killing any animal) throughout this territory. The legend appears to be altogether fantastical, but a Desalaharò Sâjaṇa Sî of Khambhâta, who has a principal part in the legend, and other Desalaharâs of Delhi, who had in their service a bard (*yâcaka*) De Pâḷa, are historical persons ages, as shown by the Editor in a note.

2. *Rasa Ratna Râsa.* Composed by Jaya Candra Gaṇi in Samvat 1654. It contains a biographical account of Râya Candra Sûri, his predecessor Samara Candra, and Samara Candra's predecessor Pârśva Candra. The last mentioned Acharya—who was the founder of a separate *gaccha*—died in *Saṃvat* 1612, whilst Râya Candra took the *dîkṣâ* in *Saṃvat* 1626. The fact that the *râsa* is almost contemporary with the personages it describes, makes it particularly reliable and gives the account a character of authenticity.

3. *Sumati Sâdhu Sûri Vivâhâlò.* By Lâvaṇya Samaya (*Saṃvat*-century 1500). A short biography of Ratna Śekhara Sûri's pupil Sumati Sâdhu Sûri, who lived in *Saṃvat* 1494-1551. Sumati Sâdh was born at Jâura, in Mewar, and the mention of this place, which is now in ruins, gives the Editor an opportunity for inserting an erudite note on the remains, which he has explored.

4. *Bhîma Còpâî.* Composed by a pupil of Kîrti Sâgara Sûri in *Saṃvat* 1742. A eulogy of Bhîma Sâha, a pious Poravâḷa of Âsapura (near Ḍũgarapura), with special reference to a pilgrimage which he, in the function of *saṅghapati*, made to Dhulevajî (Kesariyâjî).

5. *Khemâ Haḍâḷiyâ nò Râsa.* Composed by Lakṣmî Ratna in Saṃvat 1741. A legend of a *seṭha*, Khemò of Haḍâḷò, who relieved the population of Cãpanèra during a terrible famine under the reign of Muhammad Begaḍò.

6. *Râya Candra Sûri Guru Bâramâsa.* A small poem in the form of a dialogue between Râya Candra—the protagonist of the *Rasa Ratna Râsa* mentioned above—and his sister, who by describing to him the different beauties and pleasures obtaining in the twelve months of the year, tries to dissuade him from his intention to take the *dîkṣâ.*

The second *fasciculus* is all dedicated to a single work, called the *Yaśobhadrâdi Râsa*, composed by Lâvaṇya Samayâ in *Saṃvat* 1589. In the introduction to the work (pp. 4-16), the Editor gives a short biographical account of this Jain poet, who was born at Ahmadabad in *Saṃvat* 1521, and of his productions, which are all poetical works and not less than 30 in number. He was, of course, a monk, and his lay name, previous to his initiation was Lahû Râja. A valuable work of Lâvaṇya Samaya—the *Vimala Prabandha*—had already been brought to light by Maṇi Lâla Bakora Bhâî of Surat (*Saṃvat* 1970). The present work falls into three parts, or *khaṇḍas*, of which the two first contain the life of Khimarṣi and Balibhadra, two disciples of Yaśobhadra Sûri, and the third the life of Yaśobhadra Sûri himself. Considering that Lâvaṇya Samaya wrote over 500 years after the time in which his protagonists lived—Yaśobhadra died *Saṃvat* 1029—, it is no wonder if his account is inaccurate and altogether fantastical. In this respect the work has no value whatever, historically. But there are many other *râsas* in existence, which. when brought to light, will be found to better justify the title of *aitihâsika* which Vijaya Dharma Sûri has given to his *Râsa Saṃgraha.* We know that the third *fasciculus* is already in the press, and let us express the hope that the learned Jain Acharya may continue the publication through many more *fasciculi*, and soon enable us to have a deeper and sufficient insight into this interesting section of the Jain literature.

L. P. TESSITORI.

KÂVYAMÎMÂṀSÂ OF RÂJAŚEKHARA, edited by Mr. C. D. DALAL, M.A. and R. ANANTAKRISHNA SHASTRY, Baroda, 1916. Price Rs. 2.

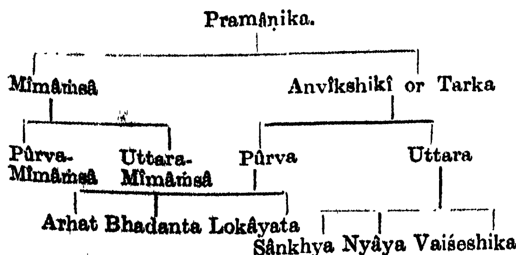
Oriental scholars will ever remain grateful to the Government of His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwad of Baroda for the publication of this new series—Gaekwad's Oriental Series—the first volume of which is the work under review. The editors have discharged their duty creditably—the edition being a critical one and the introduction and notes valuable.

The author is identical with the Râjaśekhara whose name is famous for his dramas, Karpûramañjarî, Bâlarâmâyaṇa, &c. He calls himself *Yâyâvarîya* (born in the *Yâyâvara* family) and very often introduces it at the end of a discussion on a topic as '*iti Yâyâvarîyaḥ*' or '*neti Yâyâvarîyaḥ*.' This style in a work of known authorship and of known date is a tangible refutation of the theory that the *sûtras* in which phrases like *ityâha Bâdarâyaṇaḥ, iti Bodhâyanaḥ, iti Vâtsyâyanaḥ, neti Kauṭilyaḥ,* &c., occur should not be logically ascribed to those *âchâryas*.

The work under review is a treatise on *alankâra*. But it is not a guide for the proper appreciation of *rasas, guṇas* and figures of speech of classical Sanskrit poetry. It is rather a handbook for the guidance of the poets themselves. Hence it mentions the *flora, fauna,* etc to be described in connection with the different seasons and countries. Thus has been introduced a brief *resumé* of geography with an account of the colours of the people of different parts of India—a subject which is to be compared to the statements in the Bharatanâṭyaśâstra (*J. A. S. B.* 1909, pp. 359-60). It discusses the question of plagiarism and how far it may be allowed and sums it up thus :—

नास्त्यचौरः कविजनो नास्त्यचौरो वणिग्जनः।
स नन्दति विना वाच्यं यो जानाति निगूहितुम्॥

It mentions the local peculiarities of Sanskrit and Prakrit pronunciation. The question of the use of the various dialects as the vehicle of poetry has been solved thus :—"शब्दार्थौ ते [काव्यपुरुषस्य] शरीरं संस्कृतं मुखं, प्राकृतं बाहुः । जघनमपभ्रंशः । पैशाचं पादौ, उरो मिश्रम् (p. 6)." Now what is this *miśram* (mixed) represented as the breast of the embodiment of poetry? Is it not a mixed language like the Gâthâ of the Buddhists or Senart's "Mixed Sanskrit" of Inscriptions? In connection with the bearing of the various branches of learning to poetry it classifies Arthaśâstra, Nâṭyaśâstra and Kâmasûtra, under one head—Râjasiddhânta (p. 37). The systems of philosophy have been classified thus :—



[See p. 4 and pp. 36-7]

Interesting also is the classification of poets under ten heads :—Kâvyavidyâsnâtaka (novice in the art of poetry). Hṛidayakavi (one who keeps his poems concealed in his own heart), Anyâpadeśî (a shy poet publishing his poems under a pseudonym), Mahâkavi, Kavirâja, Âveśika (inspired), etc. (pp. 19-20). It gives a sidelight on kings and their patronage to arts and sciences. A king "should have a special chamber for testing literary compositions. . . . . . In (its) middle there should be an altar . . . Here the king should take his seat. On its northern side should be seated Sanskrit poets and behind them Vaidikas, logicians, Paurâṇikas, Smârtas, physicians, astrologers and such others; on the eastern side the Prákrita poets, and behind them actors, dancers, singers, musicians, bards and such others; on the western side the [Apabhraṁśa] poets and behind them painters, jewel-setters. . . . . and such others; and on the southern side Paiśâcha poets and behind them. . . ropedancers jugglers, wrestlers and professional soldiers. . . A king should hold assemblies for the examination of the works of poets. He should patronize poets, become the Sabhâpati (president) like the ancient kings, Vâsudeva, Sâtavâhana, Śûdraka and Sâhasânka, and honour and give donations to the poets, whose works stand the test. Assemblies of learned men (Brahmasabhâs) should be held in big cities for examining poetical and scientific works; and the successful should be conveyed in a special chariot and should be crowned with a fillet. Such assemblies for examining in poetry were held in Ujjayinî. Kâlidâsa, Menṭha, Amara, Rûpa, Sûra, Bhâravi, Harichandra and Chandragupta were examined here. Pâṭaliputra was the centre for examinations in sciences. It was after passing from here that Upavarsha, Varsha, Pâṇini, Pingala, Vyâḍi, Vararuchi, and Patañjali got fame as Śâstrakâras.

Novel also is Râjaśekhara's idea of the *Kâvyapurusha* and his bride *Sâhityavidyâvadhû*.

Apart from these and other original matters (*e. g.* divine origin of poetics; promulgation of poetics; its position in literature &c.) the work is also interesting for its charming style. Though aphorism-like and terse, its prose is vigorous, exceedingly charming and pleasing to the ears.

Little did our author dream, when he inserted in his work (p. 27)

"ख्याता नराधिपतयः कविसंश्रयेण
राजाश्रयेण च गताः कवयः प्रसिद्धिम् ।
राज्ञा समोऽस्ति न कवेः परमोपकारी
राज्ञो न चास्ति कविना सदृशः सहायः ॥"

that he will find a *paramopakârî* in the person of H. H. the Maharaja Gaekwad who will ever be praised by all lovers of Sanskrit literature for this act of literary patronage.

SURENDRANATH MAJUMDAR SASTRI.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE MYSORE ARCHÆOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT, FOR THE YEAR 1916, BANGALORE. By RAO BAHADUR R. NARASIMHACHAR, M.A.

IT is gratifying to note that the Archæological Department of the Mysore Government has maintained its best traditions by its manifold activities during the period under review. The Report which

gives a brief but illuminating summary of its works does great credit to the Department as well as to the Government to whose unstinted patronage it owes its existence and steady progress.

The structures and the records whose accounts are published for the first time in the Report under review, are many in number and of great importance to the students of Indian History It is impossible to give a full account of them; but we may refer to a few specimens in order to give an idea of the importance of the new finds.

Two temples at Turuvêkere, described and illustrated in pp. 1-2, and the Chennakeśava temple of Taṇḍaga (p. 4, pl. V.) are good models of structures of the Hoysaḷa style, a peculiarity of the last being that 'every architectural member and piece composing the structure bears an inscription giving its position, direction, etc. in the building.' A small neat temple at Jambiṭige (p. 9) built in 1733, is remarkable for its sculptures; and we are told that 'every inch of space is carved with figures, etc., on the outer walls and inner walls, too, of the *Sukhanâsi* (vestibule). By far the most remarkable discoveries of the year, were, however, made at Śṛingeri, one of the four places where the great Śankarâchârya established *maṭhas* or monasteries. The historical account of the *maṭh*, occupied by the disciples of Śankarâchârya down to the present day by a regular succession of *Svâmis* is as interesting as it is instructive. We are told that there are three families which receive special honours even now at the Śṛingeri *maṭha*, because their progenitors helped Sâyana in the composition of the commentaries on the Vedas. (p. 12). The most remarkable of the more than forty temples at Śṛingeri is the artistically executed Vidyâ-Śankara temple described and illustrated in pp. 12 and ff. and plates I, VI. VII and VIII. The temple was probably erected in the 14th century, but its plan is *unique*, it being apsidal at both the ends. The formation of its tower is peculiar, and its outer walls have, from the bottom, friezes of (1) horses, (2) elephants, (3) lions, (4) *purânic* scenes, etc. and (5) dwarfs, with a few camels here and there in the first frieze Above the frieze of dwarfs comes a row of large figures, about 104 in number, of a variety of deities including those of Kalki, Paraśurâma, Garuḍa, Hanûmân and Vyâsa. (?) It is very accurately observed in the Report that the temple as far as it goes is a veritable museum of sculptures for the study of Hindu iconography. The Sculptured monolithic pillars, with lions and riders must be looked upon as remarkable productions. On the whole it may be said without any hesitation, that Mysore Archæological Department has laid the students of Indian art and iconography under a debt of gratitude by bringing this temple to the notice of the public and it may be confidently expected that a monograph on the temple will shortly be published in order to give a full and adequate account of this artistic treasure.

We need not dwell longer upon the rich discoveries made at Śṛingeri, including, besides the temples, 50 new inscriptions, 200 *sanads*, 150 coins and a large number of palmleaf manuscripts. Some of the temples found at other places are also remarkable and add to our knowledge in various ways.

As regards the records, discovered during the year, the most ancient are the two sets of copper-plates, one of Konkaṇivarma or Avinîta and one of his son Durvinîta. Almost all the earlier inscriptions of this dynasty including those of the two sovereigns have been declared to be spurious by competent authorities (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. VII, Appendix p. 20 ff.). As regards the present inscription of Konkaṇivarma, the author of the Report tells us that barring a few orthographical errors, there does not appear to be any clear indication of the record being spurious' (p. 44). He is, however, more definite about the inscription of Durvinîta and styles it as a genuine record of about 500. A.D. on the strength of its language, orthography and palæography.

The other inscriptions discovered during the period under review belong to the Noḷambas, the Châlukyas, the Choḷas, the Śilâhâras of Karâd, the Raṭṭâs of Saundatti, the Hoysaḷas and the Vijaynagar dynasties. Of these, the long inscription of about 80 lines, found at Belgaum district and recorded in the reign of the Śilâhâra Chief Vijayâditya, is of considerable importance. It is a fine specimen of Kannada verse and probably furnishes a later date for Vijayâditya than has hitherto been known.

Many of the *sanads* discovered at Śṛingeri *maṭh*, are of considerable interest and importance from an historical and social point of view. Several of them recognise the full powers of the *Svâmi* to order enquiries into the conduct of the disciples and to punish the delinquents; others are addressed to local officers telling them that the Mârkas, a class of Śûdras, should be warned against adopting the customs and observances of the Brâhmaṇas, that the Devângas should not be permitted to wear the sacred thread and that no interest higher than 12 p. c. per annum should be allowed to be demanded.

In conclusion, reference must be made to the discovry of a series of very interesting correspondence between the authorities of Śṛingeri *maṭh* and Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan. They throw a flood of light on the relation subsisting between these Mahomedan rulers and their Hindu subjects. Special importance attaches to the letters of Tipu Sultan inasmuch as they seem to disprove, or in any case modify the too generally accepted hypothesis of his bigotry in religious matters and want of toleration towards the Hindu religion. Altogether 28 letters of Tipu have been discovered at Śṛingeri, and in every one of them, Tipu gives expression to the high regard in which he holds the *Svâmi* of the *maṭh* and entreats him to pray for the welfare of himself and his kingdom and to send him his blessings. We also learn from these letters, that when the *svâmi* informed Tipu **how the Marathas raided Śṛingeri, killed and wounded many Brâhmaṇas and other people pulled out the goddess Śâradâ and carried off everything found in the Maṭh**, and asked for Government help in the shape of money and things to enable him to reconsecrate the image of the goddess, the Sultan replied thus :—

"People who have sinned against such a holy place are sure to suffer the consequences of their misdeeds at no distant date in this Kali age in accordance with the verse.

Hasadbhiḥ kriyatê karma rudadbhiranubhûyate, 'people do evil deeds smiling, but will suffer the consequences weeping." The Sultan at the same time enclosed an order to the Asaf of Nagar directing him to give on behalf of Government 200 *rahati* in cash and 200 *rahati* worth of grain for the consecration of the goddess Śâradâ and to supply other articles, if desired, for money. (p. 74.)

R. C. MAJUMDAR.

A THIRD JOURNEY OF EXPLORATION IN CENTRAL ASIA, 1913-16.

BY SIR AUREL STEIN, K.C.I.E., D.Sc., D.LITT.

(*Continued from p.* 118.)

By September 5 we had reached the head of the main Hunza Valley over the Kermin or Rich Pass. Crossing two days later the border of Chinese Turkestan on the Mintaka Pass (15,430 feet) I found myself restored to ground familiar from my two former journeys. But how easy the previously followed routes seemed by comparison with our recent tracks! Since leaving the Kashmir Valley we had crossed altogether fifteen passes, between 10,000 and 17,400 feet in height. The total marching distance covered during these five weeks was over 500 miles, and of this nearly four-fifths had needs to be done on foot.

Rapid as was my descent down the Taghdumbash Valley to Tashkurghan, I could use it for fresh surveys of antiquarian interest. It must suffice here to mention an ancient canal of large size, famous in local lore but abandoned for long centuries, which had once brought fertility to extensive areas along the right river-bank, now almost wholly desert. We could trace its remains, in places remarkably well preserved, for a distance of over 40 miles, from Dafdar to below Toghlan-shahr. There, opposite to Tash-kurghan, still as in ancient times the chief place of Sarikol, I found also ruins of Buddhist shrines which had previously escaped me.

On leaving Sarikol for Kashgar I followed for a couple of days the main caravan route through the mountains. I was here on the track of Hsüan-tsang, the great Chinese Buddhist pilgrim whom ever since my first journey I claim as my patron saint. So it was a special satisfaction when on crossing the high plateau of the Chichiklik Maidan, already under fresh snow, I found conclusive evidence that a badly decayed enclosure, now worshipped as a sacred site by Muhammadans and used as a burial-place for unfortunate wayfarers, represents, as I had previously conjectured, the remains of an ancient hospice which Hsüan-tsang described as a place connected with a sacred Buddhist legend.

Beyond this our routes divided. Lal Singh moved off by rapid marches in order to reach, *viâ* Yarkand and Khotan, that portion of the main Kun-lun range along which I was anxious to have our triangulation of 1906 extended as far as possible eastwards. My heavy baggage was despatched to Kashgar by the usual route *viâ* Ighizyar under Afrazgul and Shams Din. I myself set out due north with the second surveyor in order to reach the same goal by a new route, across the Merki Pass and down the valley of the Kara-tash or Beshkan River which receives most of the eastern drainage of the great glacier-clad range of Muztagh-ata. Owing to special difficulties this important valley had never been explored in its whole length. In the spring and summer the narrow gorges of the Karatash River are rendered quite impassable by the big floods of the melting glaciers. By the time these floods subside in the autumn, heavy snow on the Merki Pass equally closes the route to traffic. In the spring of 1906 I had sent my late surveyor, plucky Rai Ram Singh, to descend the valley, but his attempt was completely baffled. Chance showed more favour to me now. An exceptional succession of early snowfalls had stopped the melting of the glacier ice just in time to allow of my passage while the Merki Pass (14,500 feet), though deep under snow, could still be traversed with laden yaks. But even thus the descent through the river gorge for two long marches proved a very difficult and in places risky business. The constant crossings of the river tossing between sheer rock walls could not have been safely effected without opportunely secured Kirghiz camels, and none but such hardy local camels accustomed to

the ground could have negotiated the boulder-strewn narrow tracks leading elsewhere along the foot of these precipices.

By September 19 we had safely emerged from the last of these gloomy defiles, and two days later a 40 miles' ride through fertile plains carried me back to Kashgar. There I had the great joy of being received once again, after seven years' absence, by my old and ever-helpful friend, Sir George Macartney, under the hospitable roof of Chini-bagh, now much enlarged and rebuilt as befitted its new dignity as a British Consulate-General. The two busy weeks passed in those familiar cheerful surroundings would certainly not have sufficed for all the heavy work which the organization of my caravan demanded, had not the watchful care and often proved provision of my kind host aided me in every direction.

In due course there arrived twelve fine camels from Keriya, accustomed to desert work and selected by Hassan Akhun, my experienced old camel factotum, who was now about to embark on the third of our long expeditions into the "sea of sand." Other faithful old Turki followers, too, were glad to take their place again in my caravan. I had been delighted to see again at Kashgar my devoted Chinese secretary and friend, Chiangssu-yeh, who had proved so valuable on my second journey. Since then he had been rewarded by being appointed Chinese Munshi at the Consulate-General. But notwithstanding this comfortable berth, I think he would have been glad to rejoin me had not his increasing years and a serious affection of his ears warned me against accepting the sacrifice and risks which such a step would have involved for my old companion.

Li-ssu-yeh, the shrivelled-up weakly young man whom Chiang provided for the post of camp-*literatus*, turned out to be a poor substitute, as I had apprehended from the first. But there was no other choice at Kashgar. Wholly absorbed in the task of treating his ailments, real and imaginary, with every Chinese quack medicine he could lay hold of, and as taciturn and inert as a mummy, Li was useless for the manifold scholarly and practical labours in which Chiang had engaged with such cheery energy. But anyhow he managed to indite my Chinese epistles, and he did not play me false in my dealings with Chinese officials.

For this negative virtue I had reason to feel specially grateful. The revolution of 1911 had greatly changed many aspects of Chinese officialdom even in this distant province, and scarcely for the better. A series of assassinations of Mandarins and petty outbreaks fomented by unscrupulous office-seekers had during 1912 seriously disturbed the peace of the "New Dominion," though they were confined to the numerically weak Chinese element, and left the mass of the people, respectable Turki Muhammadans, in their characteristic unconcern. It had been due largely to the wise counsels and moderating influence of Sir George Macartney, who for many years past has enjoyed wide and richly deserved respect among all classes, that the province had escaped complete anarchy. Under the influence of a somewhat stronger régime at headquarters things had become more settled before the time of my return. But it was difficult not to realize that the so-called revolutionary movement in Hsin-chiang had in various respects adversely affected the general type of officials in power. Some of the best qualities of the old local Mandarin world, including regard for scholarly aims and labours, had manifestly been discarded, while the beneficial effect hoped for from "Western learning" and republican methods was still conspicuous by its absence. There was only too much justification for Sir George Macartney's shrewd warning that I could not safely reckon upon finding always the same favourable disposition at Chinese Yamens, which had facilitated my explorations so much during previous journeys.

After a stay which reunion with the kindest of friends, Sir George and Lady Macartney, and the glorious autumn season had combined to render most pleasant, I left the Kashgar Consulate-General on October 9 for my first winter's work in the desert. Its main goal was the region around the dried-up Lop-nor, in the extreme east of the Tarim Basin, and the whole length of the Taklamakan, that great sea of drift-sand over 600 miles in a straight line, separated me from it. A variety of considerations obliged me to revisit Khotan, and once there I was bound to proceed by the only possible route which skirts the southern edge of the Taklamakan. Much of the ground to be traversed there was already familiar to me from my previous expeditions, and for this reason I was all the more eager to use whatever chance of new routes the limits of time left me on my way to Khotan.

This induced me to move first due east to the oasis of Maral-bashi along the foot of the steep and barren mountain chain which forms here the southernmost rampart of the Tien-shan. It had in its main part remained so far unsurveyed, but reports, previously collected, seemed to indicate that an old route, now but vaguely remembered in local lore, had during earlier periods of Chinese domination skirted the foot of that chain and been in use for traffic instead of the present high "road," *recte* caravan track, leading much further south along the actual course of the Kashgar River. The accurate survey now effected confirmed that tradition and proved the existence of a series of small ruined sites echeloned along a line of some 160 miles and dating from pre-Muhammadan times. The ground occupied by them on the gentle desert glacis of the hill chain is now wholly without water. There were also other physical observations of interest to be gathered, clearly pointing to desiccation within historical times, and not explainable by the fact that the winding bed and inundation marshes of the Kashgar River were found to have at one period, perhaps relatively recent, approached that desert glacis in places more closely than they do at present. We had met with serious trouble about water, no drinkable supply having been found on three successive marches. This served as a suitable preparation for difficulties to be faced on our desert travel ahead.

By October 18 we were glad to reach the fields and fruit-gardens of Maral-bashi. The survey of some badly injured Buddhist ruins in the vicinity and of the curious canal system by which the oasis obtains the major portion of its by no means abundant irrigation from the Kashgardarya here approaching its end, occupied me for a few days. But in the main my short stay was taken up with careful preparations for the attempt I planned to make my way to the desert hills of the Mazar-tagh on the lower Khotan River by a short cut through the Taklamakan. I knew well the formidable obstacles and the risks presented by the wide intervening belt of absolutely waterless drift-sand desert. But by sending all baggage, except an absolutely necessary minimum, to Khotan by the caravan route *viâ* Yarkand; by reducing in the same way my camp to a few indispensable followers, and keeping most of our fine camels for the transport of water in my six galvanized iron tanks and the very numerous goatskins I had brought from India, I could hope safely to overcome the difficulty about water. The advent of the cold season would help our brave camels to face a long fast from grazing and water.

Apart from the attraction presented by the short cut and the fascination of such a desert cruise, there was an important geographical task to justify the enterprise. Our surveys of 1908 had shown reason for the belief that the Mazar-tagh hills, then traced for some 20 miles into the Taklamakan, belonged in geological structure to an ancient range which started at an angle from the outermost Tien-shan near Mara-bashi and once extended across the

Taklamakan in a south-easterly direction. The way in which the bold island-like hills to the east of Maral-bashi have been carved out and isolated by the manifest action of wind-driven sand prolonged through endless ages left little doubt as to how the continuity of that assumed ancient hill range had been broken up. But only actual survey of the ground could supply definite proof.

On October 25 I left Maral-bashi with six hired camels, all I could secure, to act as a "supporting party" to lighten the loads of our own on the initial stages of the desert journey, and three days later we reached the last of those sand-scoured hills in the desert southeastwards, known as Chok-tagh. From a lake near it, which inundations from the Yarkand River feed, but which we found brackish at its end, Hedin had started in May 1896 on that bold journey through the sandy wastes eastward which ended with the destruction of his caravan and his own narrow escape. Steering a south-easterly course we forced our way for three trying marches into the sea of dunes. Closely packed and steep from the start, they grew steadily higher and invariably rose in a line running diagonally across our intended direction. By the second day all trace of vegetation, dead or living, was left behind, and an endless succession of mighty ridges, with not a patch of evel sand between them, faced us. The ridges to be climbed soon reached 200-300 feet in height, and progress became painfully slow with the heavily laden camels. Careful levels taken along our track showed an aggregate ascent of some 400 feet over a single mile's distance, with corresponding descents even more trying to the camels.

It was by far the most forbidding ground I had ever encountered in the Taklamakan. By the evening of the third day the hired camels of the "supporting party" had either broken down completely or showed serious signs of exhaustion. Next morning I ascended the highest dune near our camp, and carefully scanning the horizon saw nothing but the same expanse of formidable sand ridges like huge waves of an angry ocean suddenly arrested in movement. There was a strange allurement in this vista suggesting nature in the contortions of death. But hard as it seemed to resist the syren voices of the desert which called me onwards, I felt forced to turn northward. Though we men might have struggled through, I should probably have had to incur the needless sacrifice of some of our brave camels which were to be the mainstay of our transport for the winter's explorations, besides the loss of indispensable equipment. It was as well that I took that hard decision in time ; for by the third day after there sprung up a violent 'Buran' which, by its bitter cold, proved most trying even where fuel was abundant, and if met with amidst the high sand ridges would have brought us to a stand-still and caused serious suffering and risks.

Sorry as I was to give up the effort two interesting discoveries had already rewarded it. Again and again we had come between the high dunes upon patches covered with minute but easily recognizable fragments of rock flakes of the wind-eroded hill range once extending right through to the Khotan River. Elsewhere, fully 30 miles from the nearest traceable bed of the Yarkand River, a small belt of eroded ground displayed on its surface abundant remains of the Stone Age, proving occupation by a Palæolithic settlement of what is now absolutely lifeless desert. Neolithic arrow-heads turned up on similar ground nearer to Chok-tagh.

After crossing the Yarkand River behind that hill chain we fortunately secured ponies from a grazing-ground, and were thus enabled to push on rapidly through hitherto unsurveyed tracts of riverine jungle, largely dead, to where, near Gorachöl, the last dried-up offshoots of the Kashgardarya bed lose themselves. Thence, with fresh animals, we gained

the delta of the Khotan River by a route not previously surveyed. It showed me the great change which, since my passage of 1908, had taken place in the river's terminal course. A series of rapid marches by the Khotandarya, then completely dry, carried me back to the end of the Mazar-tagh range I had first visited in 1908. There I found the transport and labourers ordered ahead from Khotan duly awaiting me, and was able by resumed spade-work to secure interesting archæological results at the ruined fort. Besides additional written records of Tibetan times there came to light remains of a Buddhist shrine, immediately below the alleged Muhammadans saints' tombs, from which the desolate desert hill derives its present designation. Thus the continuity of local worship, so important a feature in the history of Asiatic religious beliefs, received another striking illustration.

On November 21 I regained my old haunts at Khotan town, and was cheered by a warm welcome from my old local friends. A brief halt necessitated by manifold practical arrangements was used also to gather such antiques as my old friend the Indian Aksakal Badru'd-din Khan, now rewarded by the title of Khan Sahib for his help in the past, and others had collected for me from Yotkan, the site of the ancient Khotan capital, and from the desert sites which Khotan "treasure-seekers" are in the habit of annually searching. On November 28, I left the familiar base of my former expeditions to resume the long journey eastwards. There was still a marching distance of close on 700 miles separating me from Lop-nor, and it was essential for the work planned in that desert region that I should reach it in time while the winter cold lasted and allowed water to be transported in the convenient form of ice.

But rapid as my progress had to be I could not forego such convenient opportunities for archæological work as familiar sites near my route still held out. Thus we recovered some interesting fresco remains from the ruin of a Buddhist shrine which had come to light since my last visit in the area of tamarisk-covered cones of sand north of Domoko, near which Hsüan-tsang's *Pi-mo* (Marco Polo's Pein) must be located. From the Niya oasis, which was reached on December 9, I revisited the fascinating sand-buried settlement in the desert northward below the pilgrimage place of Imam-Jafar-Sadik. Abandoned to the desert since the third century A.D., it had yielded plenty of important relics and records in the course of my former explorations. But owing to the deceptive nature of the dune-covered ground and other reasons, it had not been possible to exhaust it completely. It did not disappoint me now either. By a close search of previously unexplored ground to the south-west of the main portion of the ancient oasis we discovered more ruined dwellings of the same early period hidden among the high tamarisk-covered sand-cones. The employment of a large number of diggers rendered rapid clearing possible, also in the case of certain structures which before had seemed too deeply buried in the sand for complete exploration. Thus, apart from furniture, household implements, etc., we recovered a further collection of Kharoshthi documents on wood, written in the Indian language and script which had prevailed in official and Buddhist ecclesiastical use from Khotan to Lop-nor during the first centuries of our era.

It was a particularly curious discovery when, not far from the still traceable dry river-bed, we came upon the remains of a large and remarkably well-preserved orchard, where the carefully arranged rows of various fruit trees and the trellis-carried vines, though dead for many centuries, could be examined in almost uncanny clearness. It was not surprising to find there also the rafters of a foot-bridge, once spanning the river, still stretched out across its dry bed. It had meant a week's constant work under high pressure, and it

was only by the light of bonfires that the final excavation of the large structure was finished, which in 1901 we had called the Yamen. It was a curious chance that just its last room, which then had baffled us by its deep sand proved to contain those "waste papers," *i.e.*, wooden records, of the office, we had before vainly hoped for. It seemed like a farewell gift of the ancient site which I had somehow come to look upon as my own particular estate, and I found it hard to tear myself away from it.

No appropriate return was possible to the dead. But at least I could do something for those living who were nearest. My renewed visit to this ground had allowed me also to make observations of direct geographical interest concerning changes in the terminal course of the dying Niya River, etc. Among these I had noticed the instructive fact that cultivation at the tiny colony of Tulkuch-köl, established at the very end of the present river-course, below Imam-Jafar-Sadik's Ziarat, had recently been abandoned, not from want of water, as the usual theory might have suggested, but, on the contrary, owing to a succession of ample summer floods which carried away the canal-head, and with which the locally available labour could not cope. My resumed excavations had brought a large *posse* of able-bodied labourers to the spot. So when I had come back with them from the ruins and was leaving, they were set to work to raise a new barrage across the deep-cut flood-bed, and thus secure water for the little canal, a couple of days' work. As I deposited the small sum needed for their wages with the Mazar Shaikhs, the task was carried through with a will.

From the end of the Niya River I led my caravan through unexplored desert, with high sand ridges in places, and more of salt encrusted and often boggy ground, to the Endere River. Thence we had to follow the old caravan track to Charchan, which we reached by December 28. It was bitterly cold in the desert, with minimum temperatures down to 50° (Fahr.) below freezing-point. But there was compensation in the exceptionally clear weather, which allowed us to sight day after day the grand snow-clad rampart of the main Kun-lun range far away to the south. At most seasons it remains quite invisible from the caravan track connecting Charchan with Niya and Keriya. In 1906 numerous peaks on it had been triangulated by Rai Ram Singh, and with their help we could now map our route to Charchan and onwards, far more accurately than had been previously possible.

At Charchan I found the oasis distinctly increased since my last visit, and was able to pick up nine additional hired camels badly needed for the work ahead in the Lop region. But the news received about events which were said to have occurred at Charkhlik, its chief inhabited place, was by no means welcome. A band of Chinese "revolutionaries," *recte* gamblers and adventurers, had a short time before started for that place from Charchan, and was reported to have attacked and captured the district magistrate of Charkhlik, besides committing other outrages *en route*. The Chinese sub-divisional officer of Charchan had been helpless to prevent the outbreak, and was evidently sitting on the fence. He considerately provided me with two introductions for Charkhlik, one to the unfortunate Amban, assuming that by any means he had regained freedom and authority, and the other for the leading spirit of the "revolutionaries," whom he shrewdly guessed to have been installed in office instead of him.

We left Charchan on New Year's Eve, 1914, and did the desert journey to the western border of the Lop district by seven long marches, mainly through the jungle belt on the left bank of the Charchan-darya, which was a route new to me. Splendidly clear weather favoured us, and so did the severe cold, which had covered the river and its marshes with strong ice. We did not meet with a single wayfarer, which struck me as strange at the time. On

approaching the jungle belt of Vash-shahri, an outlying little colony of Lop, we found the route guarded by a large party of armed Muhammadans, who at first mistook us for a fresh batch of "revolutionaries" (many of the Chinese had taken to masquerading in queer European clothes). But Roze Beg, the headman of Vash-shahri and an old acquaintance, soon recognized me. From him I learned the queer story how the little band of "gamblers" from Charchan had captured the hapless Amban, all the local Muhammadans first deserting him, and then looking on with placid indifference when some days later their magistrate was cruelly put to death by the bandits, after having been forced to disclose the place where his official moneys were hidden. The leader of the band had set himself up as Amban *ad interim*, and was duly obeyed by the local chiefs, Roze Beg himself included. Fortunately his régime proved shortlived, and there was no need of my introduction to him either; for within a week a small detachment of Tungan Government troops had arrived from far-away Kara-shahr in the north, under a capable young officer. Stealthily introduced at night into the oasis by the same adaptable Begs, they found little difficulty in surprising the "revolutionaries," most of whom were killed in their sleep, and the rest captured. So tranquillity once more ruled at Charkhlik, and Roze Beg was now engaged in laying an ambush for more "gamblers" expected to come from Charchan, in ignorance of the turn their affairs had taken. In this loyal task he duly succeeded within a day of my passage.

On January 8 I arrived at Charkhlik. It was from this modest little oasis, the only settlement of any importance in the Lop region, representing Marco Polo's "City of Lop," that I had to raise the whole of the supplies, labour, and extra camels needed by our several parties for the explorations I had carefully planned during the next three months in the desert between Lop-nor and Tun-huang. I knew well the difficulties which would attend this task even under ordinary conditions. But now I found them greatly increased by the preceding local upheaval and all its consequences. The irruption of the "revolutionaries" and its subsequent repression by the Tungan troops, who had "by mistake" killed even the few Chinese subordinates of the legitimate Amban, had left no Chinese civil authority whatever, and in its absence no effective help could be hoped for from the easy-going Lopliks and their indolent Begs. The trouble about adequate supplies and transport became all the more serious as the passage of relatively large bodies of Tungan troops sent to operate against the numerous "revolutionary" elements which were known to lurk among the Chinese garrisons of Keriya and Khotan, threatened completely to exhaust the slender resources of Charkhlik.

The six days' stay I was obliged to make at Charkhlik in order to secure at least a portion of my requirements through the help of a few old Lop friends, was thus an anxious time for me. I greatly chafed at the delay, little realizing at the time what a boon in disguise the revolutionary disturbance had been for me. Fortunately I was able to use my stay also for some profitable archæological labour. While executions of captured rebels, requisitions for the troops marching on towards Keriya, etc., kept the little oasis in unwonted animation, I managed to search two small sites near by on the river but beyond the southern edge of cultivation, which previously had escaped me. From ruined Buddhist shrines there I recovered remains of Sanskrit manuscripts on birch-bark, palm-leaf, and silk, fragmentary but of special interest as suggesting import from India by the direct route which still leads from Charkhlik across the Tibetan plateaus to the south.

On the last day of my stay I had the great satisfaction of seeing R. B. Lal Singh safely rejoin me after fully four months of separation. After leaving me in September in the mountains of the Muztagh-ata range he had pushed on and started triangulation of the main

Kun-lun range from near Kapa by the middle of October. The work carried on at great elevations and on ground devoid of all resources implied very considerable hardships. But my indefatigable old travel companion faced them with his often proved zeal and succeeded in extending his system of triangles, based on Ram Singh's work of 1906, eastward for over five degrees of longitude before excessive cold and heavy snowfall obliged him to stop it in the mountains. Thus a net with numerous carefully fixed stations and exactly observed angles to many high peaks had been carried well beyond the actual Lop-nor marshes and linked up at the other end with the Indian Trigonometrical Survey. Not satisfied with this achievement, Lal Singh had then continued survey work with the plane-table towards Tun-huang, taking special care to obtain many height observations by mercurial barometer, etc., along his route through those inhospitable snow-covered mountains. After reaching Nan-hu he had struck through the desert north and returned by the track leading along the southern shore of the ancient dried-up salt sea of Lop. The difficulties of this track, the only one through the Lop desert, which now, as in Marco Polo's time, is practicable for caravans, were illustrated by the fact that Lal Singh's party found no ice yet formed at the most brackish of the springs along it, and consequently suffered much from the want of drinkable water.

By 15 January 1914 I left Charkhlik for Miran, two marches off to the east, where in 1907 I had made important discoveries among ruins which mark the site of the earliest capital of the " Kingdom of Shan-shan or Loulan," corresponding to the present Lop region. Apart from abundant records found in a fort of the Tibetan period I had brought to light in two ruined Buddhist shrines of far earlier date wall paintings of great artistic interest, strikingly reflecting the influence of the Græco-Buddhist art of Gandharva and some almost Hellenistic in character. Owing to the shortness of the time then available for a task presenting exceptional technical difficulties, we had in 1907 been able to remove the frescoes from only one of these temples, that remarkable series forming the " angel " dado which was exhibited in 1914 in the new galleries of the British Museum together with other selections from my former collections. Of the paintings adorning the walls of the other shrine only specimens could then be safely taken away, and the subsequent attempt made to save the rest was frustrated by the tragic fate which struck my old assistant Naik Ram Singh with blindness at this very place.

I had special reason to regret this when on my renewed visit I found that a portion of the fresco frieze, representing an interesting Buddhist legend, had been broken out by a later visitor in a clumsy fashion which must have spelt serious injury if not loss. But the very interesting frescoed dado with its cycle of youthful figures, representing the varied joys of life, set between graceful garland-carrying putti, had fortunately escaped under the cover of sand with which the interior had been filled in as a precautionary measure, and this we now were able to remove intact with all needful care. It proved a delicate task, which greatly taxed the trained skill of Naik Shams Din, my " handy man," and under the icy blasts to which we were almost continually exposed the work was particularly trying. I used the fortnight's stay necessitated by these labours also for a careful search of the adjoining desert belt north, where hidden away amidst tamarisk-covered sand cones we discovered shattered ruins of two more Buddhist temples of somewhat later date, and secured from them stucco sculptures and other relics of interest.

(To be continued.)

THE HISTORICAL POSITION OF KALKI AND HIS IDENTIFICATION WITH YASODHARMAN.

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I

HIS HISTORICAL POSITION.

In 1913, while examining the *Puranic Chronicles*, I felt sure, looking at the methods of the *Purâṇas*, that Kalkî, like any other name of the *Puranic Chronicles*, was a historical personage. I gave expression to this view in that year.[1]

Theses of this paper.

Now, in the light of further study of the Puranic data, I am in a position to say (1) that the historical position of Kalkî can be proved and (2) that his identification can probably be established. I should, however, like to make it clear at the start that the first thesis is independent of the second, and the success or failure of the second does not affect the first.

Purâṇas place Kalkî in the end of Post-Andhra Period.

The *Purâṇas*, after closing the *Andhra Chronicles*, give details of foreign dynasties, and after characterising their oppressive rule, state that (*a*) all these Mlechchhas having been struck by Kalkî would be scattered (V.),[2] or that (*b*) they were destroyed by Kalkî (M.)[3] He is thus mentioned as the last name in the list of dynasties and dynasts.[4] After the above detail the *Purâṇas* describe the bad condition of the people in the closing period of Kali. Then follows the Puranic summing-up of their historical chronology, ending in 498 A. D. (which I have discussed elsewhere).[5] It is thus apparent that the *Purâṇas* clearly indicate that Kalkî flourished in the end of their chronological period, called by them 'the post-Andhra period' ending in 498 A.D.

Kalkin mentioned like any other Historical Person in the Chronicles.

Kalkî is the last person mentioned in their historical chronicles. Like any other historical figure of the 'Future Kings' of the Kali Age, he is also put in the future tense. In the Chronicles he is not deified: he is mentioned as an ordinary person.

Purâṇas employ past tense for Kalkî.

We have not, however, to depend on the general system of the *Puranic Chronicles* for our conclusion. The *Purâṇas* clearly say that he *did* flourish.[6]

The *Vâyu* in the description of the *avatâras* says that Kalki, Vishṇu-Yaśas by name, of the family of Parâśara, "although an ordinary man *was born* (संजज्ञे) of a portion of the Deity." "He *flourished* (अभवत्) in Kaliyuga."[7]

The *Matsya* says 'the Buddha was born as the ninth (*avatâra*). Kalkin, "Vishṇu-Yaśasa,"[8] the leader of the Pârâśaras, will be the tenth' incarnation at the close of Kali.[9]

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1 *Ante*, Vol. XIII, p. 265, n. 6. The date indicated there for Kalkî can no longer be maintained in view of the results of my recent studies.

2 कल्किनोपहताः सर्वे म्लेच्छायास्यन्ति सर्वशः | 37·390. 3 कल्किनानुहताः सर्वे 272·27.

4 M., 272 20—27.

5 See my paper on Chronological Summary in the Puranic Chronicles, *J. B. O. R. S.*, 1917.

6 गार्गेण चन्द्रसमः पूर्णो कलियुगेऽभवत् । *Vâyu*, 36, 111; ततः काले व्यतीते तु स देवोऽन्तरधीयत । *Matsya*, 47, 255:

7 *Vâyu* 36, 104—111.

8 Against *Vishṇu-Yaśa* of V. and Br. The *Bhâgavata* improves on this mistake of the *Matsya* and makes Kalkî, a son of Vishṇu-Yaśas!

9 *Ch.* 47- 247—8.

(Then follows a description of his conquests). "Time having passed that king (or god, *dêva*) *disappeared*" (47-255).

The references in the past tense prove that the writers of the Puranic data knew these details as facts of the past, although in accordance with the system of the *Purâṇas* they sought to describe the event by future verbs.[10]

It would be absurd to suppose that all the details of the conquest, birth-place and family of Kalkî given in the *Purâṇas* are mere figments of imagination. We accept the historical position of Ajâtaśatru, Udâyin, Chandragupta, Châṇakya, etc., when their actions and details in the *Purâṇas* are put in the future tense. There is no reason why we should not accept that of Kalkî also, and especially so when all the earlier *Purâṇas* clearly employ past tense about him, though only occasionally. His claim to be an historical personage is, therefore, stronger than that of others.

Kalki and Kali.

The data about Kalkî are comparatively late; they appear for the first time in the *Purâṇas* which are works posterior to 498 A.D.[11] The *Yuga-Purâṇa* of the *Garga-Saṃhitâ*, which ends Kali with the Yavanas (*cir.* 188 B.C.).[12] does not mention Kalkî. In the *Puranic Chronicles*, after mentioning the rise of Kalkî and the end of the foreign houses,[13] a description of the condition of the people at the close of Kali (Sandhyâ-period) is given in almost the same terms as in the *Yuga-Purâṇa*.[14] New history up to the post-Andhra period was interposed and the two data were mixed up and read together when the details of Kalkî in the Incarnation Chapter were prepared, and he was placed in the end of Kali, while according to the old chronology of the *Purâṇas* he ought to have been placed in the *Kṛita Yuga*. This dating in the end of Kali might be due to the confusion suggested above or to a belief that the conquests of Kalkî brought about a new era. Kali according to the old calculation of the *Purâṇas* ended in 188 B.C.[15] But as the 3rd, 4th and 5th centuries were very bad times, owing to political conditions, Kali was supposed to be still running. Kalkî's rise gave new hopes. But the hoped-for good days were not permanent After Kalkî (ततोऽयतीते कल्कौ) the *Purâṇas* record again bad days[16] and Kali was regarded as continuing and an indefinite period of duration was given to it. It is evident that the position once taken up by the *Purâṇas* as to the age of Kalkî with reference to Kali was soon given up.

The chapter dealing with the Chronicles places him at the end of the post-Andhra rulers, and makes him the very last historical person of the Puranic record. And as it gives 498 A.D. as the last date for the post-Andhra period and 512-612 A.D.[17] as the century ending that period, Kalkî's rise has to be dated about 498/512 A.D.

Confirmation of Puranic data of Kalki by Jain data.

Since writing the above a new datum has been kindly brought to my notice by my friend Mr. Nagendranatha Vasu, which confirms beyond the shadow of a doubt

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[10] For explanation of the Future Kings of the *Purâṇas* see my separate paper on the Brihadratha to be published shortly in *J. B. O. R. S.*

[11] The reference in M. Bk. is avowedly borrowed from the Vâyu.

[12] See my paper on Chronological Summary (*J. B. O. R. S.*, 1917).

[13] *Matsya*, 272. 20-27; 27-32. The *Vâyu* interposes as a footnote a number of minor and local dynasties and dynasts between those foreign houses and Kalki. This is apparently later, as the local dynasties are unknown to the *Matsya*.

[14] I have published this chapter in my *Brahmin Empire*.

[15] See my paper on the Chronological Summary.

[16] *Vâyu*, Ch. 36, V. 117; *Brahmâṇḍa*, Ch. 73, V. 118.

[17] See *Chronological Summary*.

my reading of the Puranic data with regard to the historical position and date of Kalkî. The Jaina Society called the *Bhâratîya Jaina-Siddhânata Prakâśinî Saṃsthâ* published last December (1916) a Hindî translation of the Jaina *Hari-Vaṃśa Purâṇa* at Mr. Vasu's Viśvakosha Press, Calcutta. The author of this *Purâṇa*, Jinasena-sûri, a Digambara of the Punnâga-gaṇa or Saṅgha,[18] and the pupil of Kîrti-Seṇa, dates his work in the year 705 of the Śaka era,[19] while king Indrâyudha was ruling in the North, Śrî-Vallabha in the South, Vatsarâja at Avanti and the victorious Vîra-Varâha in the Sûrya-maṇḍala. The mention of these contemporary kings leaves no doubt as to the correctness of the date 705 Śaka as found in the MS.[20] The work therefore is of the definite date of 783-784 A.D.

Jinasena, in his work, gives a chronology since the death of the Mahâ-vîra on the authority of Jaina chronologists (*Kâlavidbhir-udâhṛitam*). This chronology covers details for 990 years. The last king in the chronology is Ajitañjaya of Indrapura (Indore ?) and the one before him is King Kalkî (Kalki-râja). The years for Kalkî and Ajitañjaya are not given, but King Kalkî is placed after dynastic totals which aggregate to 990 years.[21] But in another place, about 50 verses later, Jinasena says (60. 552-53) that Kalkî flourished 1000 years after the Mahâ-vîra and that he was a terrible persecutor of the Jain religion. According to the *Kalki-Purâṇa* one of Kalkî's chief missions was to suppress Jainism. Thus the identity of the Puranic and the Jaina Kalkî is established. And he, according to the Jaina chronologists of the 8th century of the Christian era, lived 1000 years after the Mahâ-vîra.[21]

Jinasena's date for Kalki agrees with Purâṇas.

Now Jinasena's date of the Mahâ-vîra's *Nirvâṇa* differs a little from that given by the *Paṭṭâvalis*. He places it 605 years before the Śaka king, or 605 years before the Śaka

[18] He is not the same as Jinasena the author of the *Âdi Purâṇa*, for the latter belonged to the Sena-Saṅgh. This has been pointed out by Pandit Nathuram. See Mr. Vasu's *Introduction*. p. 8.

[19] शाकेष्वब्दशतेषु सप्तसु दिशं पञ्चोत्तरेषूत्तरम । पातीन्द्रायुधनाम्नि कृष्णनृपजे श्रीवल्लभे दक्षिणाम् । 66·53. *Introduction* by Mr. Vasu, p. 8.

[20] *Introduction* to the translation of the *Hari-Vaṃśa* by Mr. Vasu, p. 11.

[21] Ch. 60. 488-93.

वीरनिर्वाणकाले च पालकोऽत्राभिषिक्ष्यतं ।
लोकेऽवन्ति सुतोराजा प्रजानां प्रतिपालकः ॥

षष्ठिर्वर्षाणि तद्राज्यं ततो विजयभूभुजाम् ।
शतं च पञ्च पञ्चाशत् वर्षाणि तदुदीरितम् ॥

चत्वारिंशत् पुरूढानां भूमण्डलमखण्डितम् ॥
त्रिंशत्तु पुष्पमित्राणां षष्ठिर्वस्वग्निमित्रयोः ॥

शतं रासभराजानां नर वाह(ा)न(ा)मप्यतः ।
चत्वारिंशत्ततो द्वाभ्यां चत्वारिंशच्छतद्वयम् ॥

भद्रवाणस्य तद्राज्यं गुप्तानां च शतद्वयम् ।
एकविंशंच वर्षाणि कालविद्भिरुदाहृतम् ॥

द्विचत्वारिंशदेवातः कल्किराजस्य राजता ।
ततोऽजितञ्जयो राजा स्यादिंद्रपुरसंस्थितः ॥

My friend Babu Nanigopal Majumdar draws my attention to Mr. Pathak's quotation, *ante*, Vol. XV, p. 141. There we find the readings मुरुण्डानां instead of पुरूढांना, भट्टुवाणस्य for भद्रवाणस्य and एकत्रिंशच्च for एकविंशच्च. The latter thus gives details for 1000 years.

era, that is, in 527 B.C.[22] as against 545 B.C.[23] of the *Paṭṭâvalîs*. Jinasena therefore places the rise of Kalkî (527 B.C.,—1000 years) *c.* 473 A.D. As the *Purāṇas* give him a period of 25 years for his career of conquest,[24] the end of his conquests and therefore of the ruling houses he extirpated, is to be dated, on the basis of the Jain datum, in (473 A.D. + 25) 498 A. D., which is exactly the date we get from the *Purâṇâs*. It is most extraordinary that both the orthodox and the heterodox chronologists marked the conquests of Kalkî as the terminus of their chronologies.[25]

Jinasena's date for Kalkî to be presumed as correct.

I may point out that Jinasena was removed from Kalkî only as much as we are from Akbar and Râṇâ Pratâp. The event (498 A.D.) was only 286 years old in his time (784 A.D.). Therefore there is every presumption of correctness in favour of Jinasena's date for Kalkî. The Jains of his time had reasons to remember him and his date, as the Rajputs of Mewâṛ of to-day have reasons to remember the date of Akbar. For they call him the greatest persecutor of their religion since the time of the Mahâvîra.

Belief about Kalki's futurity.

The *Kalkî-Purâṇa*,[26] in describing the life of Kalki, uses the past tense. The present Hindu belief that Kalkî is yet to come, is a recent development. Jayadeva (12th century) in his *Gîta-Govinda* treated him as one already come and gone, like all the other *avatâras*: केशव धृत-कल्कि-शरीर. So does also the Bengali poet Chaṇḍi Dâsa in the 14th century. Pandit Basanta Ranjan Ray Vidvad-vallabha of the Vangîya Sâhitya Parishad gives me a quotation from an old manuscript of *Krishṇa-Kirttana* by Chaṇḍi Dâsa, in which he praises Krishṇa for *having assumed* Kalkî's incarnation. The belief about the futurity of Kalkî in Northern India seems to have been a growth later than the 14th century. In Orissa the belief appears for the first time; in the inscription of Mahâ-Siva-Gupta (*Ep. Ind.* xi. 191) which is placed about the 9th century A.C. it is to be found for the first time.

Decline of Gupta power and Kalki's date.

The chronology given by Jinasena has one more noticeable feature. It places the Guptas immediately before Kalkî with a gap of 42 years:—

गुप्तानाञ्च शतद्वयम् । एक त्रिंशच्च[27] वर्षाणि कालविद्भिरुदाहृतम् ॥
द्विचत्वारिंशदेवातः कल्किराजस्य राजता ।

"(The rule) of the Guptas is said by chronologists to be for 231 years; 42 years after this is the reign of King Kalkî." So the Jaina chronology regards the Gupta power in Western India (the Jaina chronology is a chronology of Western India, of and about Avanti) as having come to an end after 431 A.D. The blank represented by the 42 years is the period

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[22] The difference is due to the fact the period of 470 years, from the *Nirvâṇa* up to Vikrama, which is regarded by the *Paṭṭâvalis* as coming down only to the *birth* of Vikrama which is 18 years *before* the beginning of the Vikrama era or Vikrama's coronation (58 B.C.), has been taken by Jinasena as covering the whole period up to 58 B.C. He has missed the 18 years of pre-coronation years of Vikrama. Hence he gets 527 B.C. instead of 545. The 545 B.C. reckoning is confirmed by the chronology cited by Jinasena himself. In the *Paṭṭâvali* chronology from the *Nirvaṇa* down to the coronation of Vikrama (58 B.C.) or the end of the Nahavâṇa-Gardabhin-Śaka period plus 18 years (Vikrama's pre-coronation years), we get 488 years; and in Jinasena's, from the *Nirvâṇa* to the end of the Gardabhin-Nahavâṇa period, 487 years. (See App. A.) So in fact there is no difference between the two. The present Digambara Jains follow the date given by Jinasena.

[23] (*Ante*, Vol. XX, p. 347; *ante*, Vol. II, p. 363; *J.B. O.R.S.* 1.35,36). [24] See *infra*. Vâyu, 36.113.

[25] Since this paper went to the press, Mr. Pathak's article on Gupta Era has appeared in the *Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume* (p. 195). He notices Gunabhadra's date of Kalkirâja as follows: b. 473 A.C., coronation 503 A.C., d. 543 A.C. Guṇabhadra flourished later than Jinasena. He seeks to bring down Kalki's date by 30 years. The date given by Jinasena was according to his information really the date of Kalki's birth and not coronation.

[26] Veṅkaṭêśvara Press, Bombay, 1906. [27] Mr. Pathak's reading. *Ante*, Vol. XV, p. 141-2.

of the vicissitudes of the Gupta empire during the reign of Kumâragupta I. Thus to mark the decline of the Gupta power 42 years before Kalkî's date agrees with known facts of the Gupta history.[28] The blank would include the period of recovery under Skandagupta.

II

IDENTIFICATION OF KALKÎ.

(Puranic data about Kalkî.)

The Puranic data on Kalki or Kalkî may be summarised as follows:

1. Kalkî's proper name was Vishṇu-Yaśas.[29]

2. He was born at village Śambhala[30] (Śâkambharî, Râjputânâ).

3. He was born an ordinary man, he was the son of the village-leader, a Brahman of the Parâśara line. The father is called the wise Devasena by the *Brahmâṇḍa*.[31] He had a Yâjnvalkya as his Purohita.

4. He was a handsome man, of fair complexion.[32]

5. He was a military hero; he made conquests riding a horse called *Devadatta*, sword in hand, and in armour.[33]

6. He, with a large army of the four arms, made a conquest almost of the whole of India:[34] the Northern Countries, the Madhyadeśas, the Vindhyan countries, the Aparantas, the Deccan, the Draviḍas allied with the Singhalese, the Gandhâras, the Pâradas, the Palhavas, the Yavanas, the Śakas, the Tushâras (Tubaras, *Br.*), the Barbaras (Śabaras, *Br.*), the Pulindas, the Daradas (Baradas, *Br.*) the Khasas (Vasas, *Br.*), the Lampakas, the Andhakas, the Rudras (Pandras, *Br.*) and the Kirâtas. These and the Vṛishalas were defeated by "the Master" (Kalkî), and he established his empire.[35]

The above detailed conquests are given in the chapter on the *Avatâras*. In the historical chapter, however, 8 dynasties are given after the Andhras and the last of those are the Hûṇas. There they are said to have been extirpated or struck by Kalkî. Hence it is implied that Kalki suppressed the Hûṇas also.

7. His conquest was not merely political, but also religious. The powerful hero destroyed the Mlechchhas who paraded as kings[36] and he destroyed the irreligious and haters of the *dharma*.[37] He was surrounded by a large "Brahman army who had taken up arms."[38] When the Hindu religion had nearly submerged, he arose and by destroying completely the whole of the Mlechchhas and Dasyus he rescued it.[39] The popular character

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28 The knowledge of the Jaina chronologists about the end of the Gupta period was fairly accurate. But when they give 231 years to the Guptas, they are apparently dating their beginning a century too early. They are there obviously including in it some division of chronology like the Saka-Satrap.

29 कल्किर्विष्णुयशा नाम पाराशर्यः प्रतापवान् । V. 36·103. Br. 73·104.

30 *Bhâg.* 12·2·18, *Vishṇu*, 4·24·26.

31 *Ibid*, *Br.* 73·110.

32 गात्रेण वै चन्द्रसमः V. 36.111.

33 *Bhâg.* 12·2·19. *Bhavishya*, III. 26·1 : खड्गी वर्म्मीच चर्मधृक् ।

34 *V.* 36·105-108.

35 प्रवृत्तचक्रो बलवान् म्लेच्छानामन्तकृत् बली· V. 36·109.

36 नृपलिङ्गच्छद: *Bhâg.* 12·2·20.

37 उत्सादयित्वा प्रायशस्तानधार्मिकान् *M.* 47·252.

नात्यर्थं धार्मिका ये च ये च धर्मद्विषः क्वचित् । V· 36·106·

38 प्रगृहीतायुधैर्विप्रैर्वृतः शतसहस्रशः *V.* 36·106 *M.* 47·249.

39 *Bhâg.* 12. 2. नष्टे वेदपथे नृणां । (12) पाखण्डप्रचुरेधर्मे । (13) धर्मत्राणाय सत्त्वेन (16) etc., up to (22).

of his movement is testified by the remark that the object of his undertaking was to do good to the people,[40] although the undertaking entailed a cruel procedure.[41]

8. He along with his following enacted the last act of his life-drama (*nishṭhâ*) and died between the Ganges and the Jumna.[42]

9. His career of conquest covered 25 years.[43]

IDENTIFICATION.

Now who was this great hero ?--He was a patriotic and religious Napoleon of India in the late 5th and the early 6th century A.D. No character seems to have left a deeper mark on the latter period of the *Purâṇas* than he. We know his name: **Vishṇu-Yaśas**; we know his place of origin and rise—Rajputâna; we are reasonably sure of his date—the end of the 5th century A.D.; we know his conquests—from the Dravidian South up to the Northern regions, from the Western Ocean up to the Khasa country (Assam), including the subjugation of the Huns.

In view of these data, we can propose with some confidence the identification of Vishṇu-Yaśas with *Vishṇu*-(Vardhana)-*Yaśas* (Dharman) of Malvâ.

Name.

'*Vardhana*' is a title generally imperial, e.g., *Harsha-Vardhana*, *Aśoka-Vardhana*. *Vishṇu* of *Vishṇu-vardhana* and *Yaśas* of *Yaśo-dharman* have been joined together. Both these might have been assumed after conquests, as they imply great prowess and possibly a religious significance. Kalkî was probably the original name. The title of '*Vishṇu-Vardhana*' was assumed certainly later than that of *Yaśodharman*. In inscriptions on the Mandasore columns of victory which were engraved after all the conquests, have only *Yaśodharman*.[44] But the inscription of the year 589 of the Mâlava era has also *Vishṇu-Vardhana*.[45]

Religious aspect of the Career.

Vishṇu-Yaśodharman claims to have rescued the land from irreligious and wicked kings 'of the present *Yuga*' who had transgressed the path.[46] He also claims to have undertaken his task for the good of the people (*lokopakâravrata*)[46] and that he did not associate with the rulers of that *Yuga*[47] and brought about the time of Manu, Bharata, Âlarka and Mândhâtṛi.[47] In his lifetime his history was regarded as sacred, as 'destroyer of sins'[48] and himself as 'home of *dharma*.'[49] His Brahman Viceroy is also described to have brought about the *Kṛita* Age in the kingdom.[50] These claims tally with the Puranic description of the religious aspect of Vishṇu-Yaśas' career. The claims coupled with the assumption of the style *Vishṇu* and the overwhelming military glory would warrant the *Purâṇas* in regarding him as 'an emanation of a portion of god Vishṇu.'

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[40] लोकहितार्थाय *V.* 36·103. धर्मत्राणाय (*Bhâg.*)

[41] कृत्वा बीजावशेषान्तु महीं क्रूरेण कर्मणा *V.* 36·114.
तेषां प्रजाविसर्गश्च स्थविष्टः संभविष्यति *Bhâg.* 12·2·22.

[42] *V.* 36·116. [43] पञ्चविंशति वैसमा । विनिघ्नन् सर्वभूतानि मानुषानेव सर्वशः *V.* 36·113.

[44] Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, 146.

[45] *Ibid*, 153.

[46] Fleet, p. 146 (line 2 of the column inscription).

[47] *Ibid*, line 3.

[48] चरितमघहरम्, line 8.

[49] धर्मस्याय निकेतः *Ibid.*

[50] Fleet, p. 154, line 17 of the *Mandasor Stone Inscription*

The Conquests.

The conquests also tally: the conquests from the Lauhitya (Brahmaputra) river to the Mahendra mountain and from the Himalayas near the Ganges to the Western Ocean, of Vishṇu-Yaśodharman, agree with the conquests of Kalkî as detailed above. Both have the subjugation of the Hûṇas to their credit.

The Date.

The dates in both cases also agree. Vishṇu-Yaśodharman defeated Mihirakula who would come after Toramâṇa and Toramâṇa's date is shortly after Budhagupta, 484-85 A.D (*F. GI.* p. 159). Mihirakula was defeated by Yaśodharman *in Kashmir* (see App. B). The defeat of Mihirakula would be at least 15 years after 484 A.D., as his father's (Toramâṇa's) time is about 484. Thus or shortly after 499 A.D. the defeat of Mihirakula could be possible. It is definite from the *Mandasor Inscription* of 533-34 A.D. that the victory was attained some years before 533 A.D. When the undated column inscription was engraved, the conqueror had not assumed the lofty title of *Vishṇu-Vardhana* as in the latter. The latter bears evidence of a peaceful administration which had already lasted for sometime, as the victory is said to have ended Kali by his good government. The undated inscription mentions Mihirakula's defeat. Therefore the date of Mihirakula's defeat in Kashmir would be more than a few years before 533 A.D.[51]

Lineage.

Vishṇu-Yaśodharman is declared in the inscription[52] to have had no lineage. Likewise Vishṇu-Yaśas is the son of an ordinary man. Both are said to have built empires.[53]

The points of identity are so striking that the conclusion seems to be nearly irresistible that Vishṇu-Yaśas is no other than Vishṇu-Yaśodharman.

Value of the reclamation of Vishnu-Yasas' history.

The identification, if correct, explains and confirms the inscriptions of Vishṇu-Yaśodharman. But the establishment of the historical existence of Kalkî, apart from the question of his identification, reclaims a lost chapter of Indian History, which is as important as that on Chandragupta Maurya, Pushyamitra or Saṅkarâchârya. The social and religious effects on Hindu Society produced by the movement of Kalki must be admitted to have been tremendous, in view of the joint testimony of the Jaina and Brahmanic records.

APPENDIX A.

The Two Jaina Chronologies.

The old *Gâthâs* given in the Jaina documents[54] give 470 years from the death of the Mahâ-vîra to the end of Saka and the birth of Vikrama, and 488 years down to the coronation of Vikrama (or 58 B.C.). The reckoning given by the Digambara author Jinasena gives a somewhat different order of chronology. But a comparison between the two shows that although the two are based on independent traditions, they come to the same conclusion as to the length of time.

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[51] If we accept the date given by Guṇabhadra, Kalkî's career would fall between 503-543 A.C.

[52] No ancestry is given in the inscriptions. Notice "स्वगृहपरिसरावज्ञया," etc., in the column inscription and the proud expression आत्मवंश: (lines 5-6) in the stone inscription "*who is his own lineage.*"

[53] The above inscriptions say that he assumed the title of *Samrât*, *Râjâdhirâja* and *Paramêśvara.*

[54] *Ante*, Vol. II, p. 363; *ante*, Vol. XX, p. 347; also in the Śvetâmbara books *Titha-guliya-Payanna* and *Tirthoddhâra-Prakirṇa* (cited by Vasu in his Hindi *Viśvakosha*, II, 350.)

(*The Paṭṭâvali Chronology.*)	(*Jainasena's Chronology.*)
Pâlaka, 60 years.	Pâlaka, 60 years.
The Nandas (the first of whom, as I have shown, conquered Avanti[55]), 155 years.	Vijaya (the conquering kings,) 155 years.
The Mauryas, 108 years.	The Purudhas or Muruṇḍas[56] ruled over 'the whole of the country' for 40 years.
Pushyamitra, 30 years.	Pushyamitra, 30 years.
Balamitra and Bhânumitra, 60 years.	Vasumitra and Agnimitra,[57] 60 years.
Nahavâṇa, 40 years. Gardabhila, 13 years; Saka 4 yrs. Pre-coronation years of Vikrama 18 yrs.	Râsabha Kings, (Gardabhilas) 100 years. The Naravâhas (Naravahanaṁ) 42 years.
total .. 488	total .. 487

The period given by Jinasena's chronology to the Mauryas (Purudhas') is too short, 40 as against 108 years of the Prâkṛita *Gâthâs*. The latter place the end of the Maurya rule in Western India (326 B.C.—108) about 218 B.C. or 18 years after Aśoka, which is likely. But the former would date it before the reign of Aśoka, which would be absurd. This difference of (108-40) 68 years has been adjusted by giving to the Gardabhin-Nahavâṇa period (100+42) 142 years as against the 75 (40+13+4+18) years of the Nahavâṇa-Vikrama period of the *Gâthâs* (142—74=68).

In the Jinasena chronology the Saka rule of 4 years is included in the Gardabhin period. Possibly both were considered as belonging to the same stock. The *Purâṇas*, however, like the *Gâthâs*, treat them separately.

The most noticeable feature of the Jinasena chronology is that it places Nahâvaṇa (=Nahapâṇa) in 100 B.C.—58 B.C. as against 133 B.C.—93 B.C. of the *Gâthâs*.[58]

APPENDIX B.

Defeat of Mihirakula.

About Mihirakula's defeat there are two sources of information. Yuan Chwang says that the king Bâlâditya (the Gupta king) defeated him and set him free on the recommendation of his own mother, to let him retire to Kashmir. In the inscription of Mandasor on the victory columns Yaśodharman is related to have defeated and humbled Mihirakula. On the basis of these two data Mr. Vincent Smith comes to a conclusion that there was a confederacy of "the Central Indian Rajas" and Bâlâditya for the deliverance of their country from the oppressive rule of the Huns. The supposed confederacy has no evidence whatsoever behind it; it is a mere creation of imagination. Having created this imaginary confederacy Mr. Smith calls the description of the conquests of Yaśodharman "boasts," because 'Hiuan Tsang gives the sole credit for the victory over the Huns to Bâlâditya, King of Magadha.' The conclusion is vitiated by the creation of a confederacy while in fact there was none. Dr. Hoernle points out the mistake and gives sound reasons to accept the inscription as the best possible and thoroughly trustworthy evidence (*J.R.A.S.* 1909, 92-95).[59] But Dr. Hoernle rejects the Chinese datum about the victory of Bâlâditya over Mihirakula as a mere romance. Dr. Hoernle seems to think that the victory of one excludes that

[55] *J. B. O. R. S.* 1,107.

[56] A corruption of *Mayuras* or Mauryas. भुमरुडनमखरिडसम् denotes their imperial rule.

[57] To be read as agnimitra and vasumitra in view of the *Mâlavikâagnimitra* and the *Purâṇas*.

[58] *J. B. O. R. S.* 1,102.

[59] The mistaken view has been persisted in. See V. Smith, *Early History*, New ed., pp. 318-20.

of the other.[60] The point however clears up when we notice the fact that the two data refer to two victories in two distinct places. The Chinese pilgrim describes that Mihirakula invaded Magadha and under that pressure the populace and the king exerted themselves and defeated the invader, after which he was allowed to retire to Kashmir. The inscription, on the other hand, indicates that Mihirakula paid respect "to the two feet" of Yaśodharman in the Himalayas (Kashmir).[61] The two data relate to two events, and not to one and the same. Possibly Mihirakula had already annexed Kashmir before he invaded Magadha and it is also possible that he retained his sway up to Gwalior after his Magadhan defeat.[62] The *Mandasor Inscription* refers to the past achievements of the Huns over the Guptas. Hence it seems likely that Yaśodharman's claim of making the Himalayas easy of access refers to a period later than Mihirakula's defeat by Bâlâditya. The *Mandasor Inscription* treats the subjugation of Mihirakula as an act separate from his *digvijaya*, whose route is broadly given. The *Purâṇas* also do not enumerate the Huns in the list of Kalki's conquests (*digvijaya*). The defeat of Mihirakula could very well be beyond the *digvijaya* period, that is, beyond 498 A.D.

APPENDIX C.

Summary of results and the Kalki Chronology.

431–473 A.D.—End of the Gupta power in Western India.

473 or **503** A.D.—Kalkî's rule begins.

Circ. 485—Toramâṇa.

498 or **528** A.D.—Kalkî's conquests of the Mlechchhas and others (*digvijaya*) completed.

498-99 A.D.—The Siddhânta year of the astronomers[63] (Âryabhata, b. 476 A.D. at Pâtaliputra).

498-533—Mihirakula's defeat after 498 A.D. Peaceful reign of Kalkî (at least down to 533 A.D., possibly longer).

Columns of victory erected at Mandasor.

Assumption of the style of *Vishṇu-Vardhana.*

Possibly Kalkî regarded as having brought about *Krita* Age.

Old age of Kalkî, about 80 in 533.

Inscription of 533-34 A D. at Mandasor.

Circ. 543 A.D. (?)—Death of Kalkî.

Purâṇas not continued further.

Kali regarded as yet running.

784 A.D.—Jinasena writes about Kalkî.

[60] J.*R.A.S.*, 1909, 98.

[61] Mihirakula's defeat is described in verse 6 which also says that the claim of affording a 'fortress' defence was also taken away from the Himâlaya. (*GI*, p. 146).

[62] It ought to be noticed that the tract from Gwalior to Kashmir is outside the limit of Yaśodharman's conquests defined in verse preceding the defeat of Mihirakula: from the Brahmaputra to Mahendra (on the east) and from the Himalayas near the Ganges to the Western Ocean (not from E to W and N. to S., as summarised by Fleet, 145-46). This shows that the *digvijaya*, as completed, excluded Mihirakula's dominions, and also that the expedition against Mihirakula was undertaken last.

[63] Their selection of the year 499 A.D. might have been due to some astronomical observation, and the political and astronomical landmarks might have coincided. But as it was not uniformly adhered to by the astronomers, the selection was more likely due to the importance of political events. It is possible that both political and astronomical events might have contributed to the selection both by the astronomers and the *Purâṇas.*

THE KADAMBA PRAKRIT INSCRIPTION OF MALAVALLI.

BY DR. A. VENKATASUBBIAH, M.A., PH.D.; BANGALORE.

THIS is published by Mr. Rice in Vol. VII of his *Epigraphia Carnatica* as No. 264 of Shikarpur Taluq; for literature connected with it see under No. 1196 of Lüders' *List of Brâhmî Inscriptions* which forms the appendix to Vol. X of the *Epigraphia Indica.*

I here wish to point out that this inscription has been wrongly understood and translated so as to yield the meaning that **Sivakhadavamman** was a king of the Kadambas and that he made the grant recorded in the inscription. This is wrong as can be seen by a reference to the original text (P. 252, VII, *Epigraphia Carnatica*; p. 326 of the Kanarese text in the same volume) which reads as follows: —

Vaijayantî-dhamma-mahârâjâdhirâjê patikata-saujjhâyi-chachcha-parô Kadambâṇaṃ râjâ Siva[khada]vammaṇâ Mânavya-sagôttêna Hâriti-puttêna Vaijayantî-patinâ puvvadattitti sotvêna parityakthêṇa manasâ . . pisa mâtulâya bitîyaṃ dattaṃ.

"The king of the Kadambas, Dharma-Mahârâjâdhirâja of Vaijayantî, who studies the requital (of good and evil) as his sacred text—having heard that [they] were formerly granted by Siva[khada]vamman, of the *Mânavya-gôtra*, a *Hâritîputra* and lord of Vaijayantî—there were granted, a second time, with composed mind to the maternal uncle of . . . pi . . . "

The language of the inscription is not very grammatical; the nominative *Kadambâṇaṃ râjâ* is not connected with any verb; the neuter singular *dattam* has for subject, or is connected with, the masculine plural *puvvôchitâ ggâmâ*; and similarly we have *êtê gâmâ diṇṇam.* In spite of these and other irregularities, there can be no doubt, it seems to me, as to which word the instrumental singular *Siva[khada]vammaṇâ* goes with. It should, naturally, be taken with the following instrumental singulars *Mânavya-sagôttêna Hâriti-puttêna Vaijayantî-patinâ* and not with the preceding nominative singulars ending with *Kadambâṇaṃ râjâ.* Nor can we say that, in spite of the nominative case, the words ending with *Kadambâṇaṃ râjâ* should be taken as qualifying epithets of the instrumental *Sivakhadavammaṇâ*; for, in this case, this latter word would be qualified by *Vaijayanti-dhamma-mahârâjâdhirâjê* [for . . . .-*râjêna*] and also by *Vaijayantî patinâ*, of which one would clearly be superfluous. The only correct way therefore is to keep the nominative singulars apart from the instrumental singulars and to translate the passage as I have done above.

This passage was originally translated by Mr. Rice as follows (*op. cit*; p. 142 of Translations):—

"By the Dharma-Mahârâjâdhirâja of Vaijayantî, versed in the views he has adopted on the sacred writings, râjâ of the Kadambas, Siva[skanda]varmmâ, of the *Mânavyagôtra*, a *Hâritîputra*, master of Vaijayantî . . . ."[1]

This translation of Mr. Rice was the original source for the mistaken statement that **Sivakhadavamman** was a king of the Kadambas; this statement has passed by the notice of Dr. Fleet (*J. R. A. S.*, 1905, p. 304) and Prof. Rapson (*Catalogue of Coins of the Andhra Dynasty*; p. LIII), who have touched upon this inscription and has even found a place in Dr. Lüders' *List of Brâhmî Inscriptions* referred to above and in the index thereof.

What has gone above must thus have made it clear that **Sivakhadavamman** was not a king of the Kadambas and that he was not the donor of the grant recorded in this inscription: on the contrary, the inscription, as I make it out, distinctly states that he was

[1] For an improved translation, which, however, still repeats the mistake about Sivakhadavamman being a king of the Kadambas, see footnote 3 on p. 23 in Mr. Rice's *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions.*

the donor of the 'former grant' (*puvva-datti*) referred to therein. Now, the inscription No. 263 of Shikarpur Taluq (No. 1195 of Lüders' *List*) which is engraved on the same pillar as, and immediately precedes, this inscription, records the grant of the village Sahalâṭavî to **Koṇḍamâṇa** of the *Kauṇḍinya-gôtra*, the ancestor of the donee in No. 264. The village Sahalâṭavî too is no doubt the same as the village Sahalâ which was one of the thirteen villages granted by No. 264. Nevertheless, the 'former grant' of No. 264 can not refer to the grant recorded in No. 263; for, No. 263 states that the grant is made by **Viṇhukaḍḍa-chuṭukulânanda Sâtakaṇṇi**, of the *Mânavya-gôtra*, a son of *Hâritî* and lord (*râjan*) of Vaijayantî-pura, and that the subject of the grant is but one village—Sahalâṭavî; while No. 264 names the donor of the 'former grant' referred to therein as **Sivakhada vamman** and by employing the words *bitîyaṃ dattaṃ* . . . *puvvôchitâ ggâmâ* says that the subject of that grant were the thirteen villages—Sahalâ, Sômapaṭṭi, Koṅginagaram, etc., named therein. We must therefore [2] assume that at some time between the making of the grants recorded in Nos. 263 and 264, **Sivakhadavamman** made a grant to **Koṇḍamâṇa** himself or to his descendant of the twelve villages Sômapaṭṭi, Koṅginagaram, etc., in addition to the village of Sahalâ which having been already granted to **Koṇḍamâṇa** by **Viṇhukaḍḍa-chuṭukulânanda Sâtakaṇṇi** was in the donee's possession and enjoyment. These villages in course of time must have passed out of the possession of the descendants of **Koṇḍamâṇa**[3] and the king of the Kadambas, hearing of this, granted the same again to them.

This **Sivakhadavamma** must have been a Śâtakarṇi; for not only did he supplement the grant made by **Viṇhukaḍḍa-chuṭukulânanda Sâtakaṇṇi**, as we saw above; but he is also styled like the latter, a *Mânavya-sagôtra*, *Hâritîputra* and lord of Vaijayantî. In all probability, he is the same as the prince **Sivakhada-Nâga-siri** whose name occurs in conjunction with that of **Viṇhukaḍḍa-chuṭukulânanda Sâtakanni**, in a *Banavâse inscription*, No. 1186 of Lüders' *List*. (See also the index of personal names attached to that *List*.)

It is thus clear that **Sivakhadavamman** was not a king of the Kadambas; this name therefore must be deleted from the list of Kadamba kings.

A point worthy of note is that the unnamed king of the Kadambas already appears here with their characteristic *biruda*—[4]*pratikṛita-svâdhyâya-charchâ-pâra* (in its Prakrit form); he is not however styled a *Mânavya-sagôtra* and *Hâritîputra* as the later[5] Kadamba kings are.

It is also interesting to find that this inscription (*i.e.* Sk. 264) quotes the following Prakrit stanza, which has not so far been recognised as such :—

Uktaṃ khaṇḍho

Vìsvakammâ Bahmaṃ dejjaṃ (*read* Bahma-dejjaṃ) *sê Kadambêsu ṛidhamâtê* |

Visasattu châtu-vejjaṃ siddhitaṃ nigama-viditaṃ cha. ||

This stanza being a quotation must have been composed before the time of the inscription (*c.* A. D. 250). It is therefore not unlikely that the Kadambas had acquired a renown for giving *brahma-dêyâni* long before the time of the inscription. The verse is also interesting as furnishing a specimen of the inscriptional Prakrit which was employed for verse about 230 A. D.

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[2] Otherwise, if one wants to maintain, as Mr. Rice seems to do (p. 6. of Introduction to Vol. VII, *Epigraphia Carnatica*) that the 'former grant' referred to in No. 264 is that recorded in No. 263, one will have to assert that the composer or engraver of the former inscription has made a mistake as regards the name of the donor and as regards the number of villages granted. In view of the fact that No. 263 was there before the eyes of the composer and engraver, it seems most unlikely that such a mistake could be made. Mr. Rice's view seems to me therefore to be most improbable.

[3] Koṇḍamâṇa and his descendants seem to have been priests officiating at the temple at Maṭṭapaṭṭi; and the villages granted seem to have been intended mainly for the maintenance of the temple.

[4] The occurrence of this *biruda* which is characteristic of the Kadambas only, as well as the express mention by the inscription of *Kadambânaṃ râjâ* prove conclusively—if proof were needed—that this *is* a Kadamba inscription. Dr. Fleet's doubts on this point (*loc. cit.*, p. 304 footnote) should therefore be considered to be baseless.

[5] See for example *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. V, Bl. 245; Vol. VII, Sk. 29; Vol. IV, No. 18, etc.

THE HISTORY OF THE NAIK KINGDOM OF MADURA

BY V. RANGACHARI, M.A., L.T.; MADRAS.

(*Continued from p.* 124.)

The Romance and Sati of his Queen.

The accomplishment of Muttammâḷ's object, therefore, would mean not merely her self-sacrifice, but the murder of an infant. A strong objection, therefore, arose against the queen's resolution, and this was focussed and strengthened by the able queen dowager, Maṅgammâḷ, a woman of remarkable individuality and character, who, as we shall see presently, left an indelible influence in the history of Madura. It is not improbable that Maṅgammâḷ's endeavour against the *sati* of her daughter-in-law was inspired by a feeling of jealousy at her superior reputation: but the real fact seems to have been her sincere horror at the death of the only heir expected, and her real solicitude for the welfare of the kingdom. But Muttammmâḷ was obstinate; and at length a compromise was arrived at, by which she was to be permitted to ascend the pyre after giving birth to her child.

The child that was born under such singular circumstances was christened Vijaya Raṅga Chokkanâtha. On the fourth day of his entrance into the world, his mother who had more affection to her dead lord than her living child, and who had performed large charities in order to expiate the crime of delay in her *sati*, found that no preparation was made for her departure. She therefore took a large draft of rose water, thereby inviting a severe cold, which, owing to her delicate health, soon put an end, as she wanted, to her life. So ended the tender romance of her short wedded days.

CHAPTER IX.

THE MUGHAL SUPREMACY.

Vijaya Raṅga Chokkanâtha (1689-1731.)

SECTION I.

Regency of Mangammâḷ.[30]

Vijaya Raṅga Chokkanâtha was scarcely three months old, when he was proclaimed king. The actual administration of the realm naturally devolved on his guardian and grandmother Maṅgammâl. The Queen Regent was one of the most remarkable women, who have distinguished themselves in Indian History and cut an undying figure in the rock of fame by the individuality of their character and the greatness of their achievements. No sovereign of the Madura line, except Viśvanâtha I and Tirumal Nâik, has gained such a lasting remembrance in the memory of mankind. The kindly disposition and charitable deeds of Maṅgammâḷ, in fact, so much engaged the affections and gratified the hearts of the people that, even today, almost every choultry, every road, every tank and temple in the Districts of Madura and Tinnevelly, is attributed to her liberality. The range of her charities, says an enterprising chronicle, extended from Kâśi to Comorin and the sphere of her reputation from the heaven to the earth. An exceedingly interesting

[30] The events of the regency of Maṅgammâḷ are not well known owing to the loss of Jesuit letters from 1687 to 1699. The account given here is based only on indigenous chronicles. As Maṅgammâḷ was a mere regent, inscriptions during her regency are sometimes in the name of her grandson, *e.g.*, the Tiruppuḍaimarudûr grant of 1695.

if imaginative,[31] story is current in regard to Maṅgammâḷ, which at once gives an adequate idea of the remarkable affection she commanded among her contemporaries, not only at Madura but abroad. It is a story illustrative of the generosity of the Queen-Regent and the parsimony of a contemporary king of Mysore. A few months before Maṅgammâḷ's[32] death the Mysore monarch, a miser, had died and gone to hell, while his crown was inherited by a more miserly son. About the same time, a Vaṇṇia merchant of Mysore died and was carried by the agents of the god Yama, but on reaching the city of death they were told that a wrong man had been brought by them. The Vaṇṇian was therefore about to be taken back to the earth, when the royal sufferer, who was undergoing the tortures of hell, recognised him as a former subject and took advantage of his return to the world of life to send a message to his son, the then king! The penitent and fallen chief said that, while he was ruling Mysore, he had amassed an abundance of wealth, but instead of spending it on behalf of the people he had buried it. No thought of charity or benevolence had ever entered into his mind and the result was his terrible fate. On the other hand, Queen Maṅgammâḷ of Madura had done innumerable acts of benevolence, and the beings of heaven were erecting triumphal arches to receive her and honour her. The repentant chief therefore asked the merchant to proceed to his son, take the buried treasure out, and expend[33] it in charities, so that he might be emancipated from the trials of hell. The Vaṇṇian, the story continues, did so, and a lesson was learnt by all future kings.

The general events during her regency.

Such was the golden opinion that Maṅgammâl inspired in her own days. What Tirumal Nâik did in regard to architecture, she did in regard to roads and choultries. The one was famous for his architectural monuments, the other for her philanthropic labours. The one appealed to the artistic instinct in man, the other to his heart. The former again dazzled men by his splendour, the latter won them by her generosity. And yet Maṅgammâḷ's claim to greatness consisted not merely in her generous nature or her benevolent virtues. Endowed with many masculine virtues, she proved a politician of no mean talents. For a space of seventeen years[34] she conducted the affairs of State in such excellent spirit that her regency became, if not a model of good government, at least strong enough to secure order within the state and victory abroad. She had a certain vigour and independence of character which ensured the security of her reign and the discomfiture of her enemies. The circumstances under which she found herself in power were more gloomy

[31] The Telugu Record of the *Carnatic Governors from Tirumal Nâik onward.*

[32] Maṅgammâl died in 1705 and Chikka Dêva in 1704. The latter is thus clearly the person referred to.

[33] The story, of course, is a myth and has been invented by a fertile imagination to contrast the liberality of Maṅgammâḷ with the parsimony of the contemporary Mysore ruler, Chikka Dêva Râja, (1672-1704) who, in spite of his victories, introduced a number of vexatious taxes, and never broke his fast every day till he deposited two bags of pagodas in the treasury out of the revenues. See Wilks *Mysore*, I, 63; Rice I, 306 to 369.

[34] 1689-1705. The *Hist. Carna. Govrs.* attributes her reign to S. 1617-1635, *i. e.*, A.D. 1685-1713, from *Yuva* to *Nandana*. The *Pand. Chron.* says that she was regent from *Raudri* for 12 years. It does not specify particularly the date. The *Supple. MS.* agrees with the *Hist. of Carna. Govrs.*, which assigns 19 years from *Pramôdula* to *Vikrama*. Kali Kavi Rayan's chronicle, with its usual vagueness, attributes 8 years to her regency and further says that she was the sister of Vijaya Raṅga! The Telugu chronicle says that she ruled from 1707-1725. This is wrong. Epigraphy shows that she came to power before 1690. (Sewell's *Antiquities* II, 85.)

than encouraging. We have already seen how, during the reign of her husband Chokkanâtha, the affairs of Madura had, thanks to the attacks of the Marathas, the Mysoreans and the Maravas, drifted into confusion and anarchy, and how the king, in despair of emancipating himself and his kingdom from the foul designs and intriguing cliques of his adversaries, died of a broken heart. We have also seen how his young and gallant son, Raṅga Kṛishṇa Muttu Vîrappa, endeavoured to retrieve the losses sustained by his father, to restore and re-establish a settled government, and to extend the name and extent of Madura to what they were in the time of Tirumal Nâik. But before he could fully accomplish his task the hand of death, we have already seen, snatched him away during his 22nd year. The real work of consolidation, therefore, devolved on Maṅgammâḷ. And she proved not unequal to the task. Her remarkable vigour made her regency, when compared with that of her predecessors, one of tranquillity and progress. During the period of 15 years during which she swayed the destinies of Madura, she waged, as we shall see further on, four wars,—the first with Travancore, the second with Tanjore, the third with Mysore and the fourth with the Maravas; and from these she either came out successful or at least with the satisfaction that the interests of Madura did not suffer.

The Mughal Invasion.

True her regency was clouded by a misfortune in the form of Mughal invasion for the first time into South India and the consequent necessity on her part to pay the penalty of a suppliant kingdom. But this was due to the exigencies of the times, not to her incapacity. Any other ruler in her place would have had the same fate. Moreover the domination of the Mughal did not introduce any new feature in South Indian History. It was a mere case of change of masters. The Sultan of Bijapur had been for the previous thirty years the suzerain, and in his place there came the Maratha, and now there was the Mughal Emperor. Madura was equally subordinate to all of them. To bow to the majesty of the Empire and to purchase the immunity of the kingdom from war was therefore a service rather than disservice. Any other course would have meant disaster. The very victories which Maṅgammâḷ gained later on were due to this timely recognition of imperial supremacy.

A legend about Mangammal.

Such were the general features of the reign of Maṅgammâḷ. As has been already mentioned, the first thing that strikes the historian who reviews her regency is the intense solicitude she felt for the welfare of the people, which began to display itself immediately after her assumption of the reins of government. A strange story, and not an improbable one, ascribes her liberality to an alleged act of indiscretion on her part. On one occasion, when she was in a forgetful mood, she put betels into her mouth with her left hand.[35] An extremely orthodox woman, Maṅgammâḷ regarded this as a serious breach of the moral code, and summoning the orthodox men, who thronged the throne in those days, she narrated her error and asked by what means she could repair it; and her soft and credulous disposition listened with earnestness to their proposal that she should, in order to purify herself, undertake on a large scale the construction of public works! The consequence was a period of busy and philanthropic activity

[35] *Vide Hist. Carna. Govrs.* and the Telugu *Carna. Lords* which is more detailed. A typical charity of Maṅgammâḷ is described in the Telugu grant of Bâlakṛishṇa Mahâdânapura wherein she gave a whole *agrahâram* to Brahmans in 1700. (*Antiquities*, II, 4.). *And* to a certain Subbayya Bhâgavata for a feeding institute in 1701 (*Ep. Rep.*, 1911, p. 15); etc.

hardly equalled by the reign of any other sovereign of the Nâik dynasty except Tirumal Nâik. Roads and avenues, choultries and water booths, temples and tanks, rose without[36] number; and a loving and wonder-struck people echoed the praises of one who, though a woman, asserted her claim to high eminence in history. Imagination came in course of time to triumph at the expense of honest admiration and an admiring posterity attributed to her a chain of roads[37] and choultries from the distant Kâśi to the Cape.—a pardonable exaggeration which had its basis in the fact that in addition to her works of charity in her own kingdom, Maṅgammâḷ built a choultry for the pilgrims in the sacred city of Hinduism.

Her toleration.

Though the ruling passion of Maṅgammâḷ was a sincere attachment to the gods of Hinduism, and though in her religious policy she was entirely directed by the arts of orthodox flattery, yet the great queen was not so bigoted or narrow-minded as to persecute those who embraced other religions. She had an elightened understanding of the value of religious toleration, and endeavoured to be impartial in her treatment of the different religions. In 1692, for instance, she permitted her ward and grandson to make an endowment to a Muhammadan for the maintenance of a mosque (*Antiquities*, II, p. 7). Again when she heard that Father Mello of the Jesuit Society was seized and imprisoned by the Sêtupati, her indignation was awakened and she insisted, with success, on his immediate release. On another occasion,[38] the Jesuit missionary, Father Bouchet, who had heard of the liberal ideas of the Queen-Regent, paid a visit to her, and though he was not favoured with a personal interview, he received the solemn assurance that the Christians would be free from the mischief of fanatics and the ravages of thieves. The missionary was treated with the respect and the courtesy due to his position and person, and even honoured with a procession which escorted him, with much *éclat*, to his station. In 1701, again, she sanctioned a grant of lands near Trichinopoly for a Musalman *dargah* at Penukoṇḍa for an alleged successful prophecy in the Tanjore affair.[39]

The Mughal Advent 1693.

In her foreign policy Maṅgammâḷ was, as has already been mentioned, both cautious and as a rule successful. With a calm mind, which saw clearly the possibilities and impossibilities of her arms, she guided the State in such a way as to obtain the maximum of gain with the minimum of sacrifice. This aspect of her policy is clear in her ready subjugation to the superior might of the Mughal Empire. In the year 1693, a formidable army under

[36] The *Telugu Chron.* says that she built choultries at the distance of every *kâtam* (10 miles), dug tanks, and erected water-booths at the distance of every five *nâlikas* (7 miles), and wells, with brick work and stone steps, at the distance of every *nâlika* (1½ miles). All these being completed, it says she built a handsome choultry at Kâśi.

[37] *Madura Gazr.*, p. 54. Taylor thinks that Maṅgammâḷ's charity might be due to her repentance for some amorous escapade. See his *O. H. MSS.* II.

[38] Taylor's *O. H. MSS.* II, p. 227. It is said that the missionary saw the Daḷavâi, Narasappaiya evidently, and not the Queen. Narasa was a very orthodox man and had dismissed certain bombardiers out of service on discovering them to be "Farangis," *i. e.*, European Christians. He however gave a warm reception to the Father, and took the presents the latter brought to the Queen and induced her to be generous as usual. The presents were a two-feet terrestrial globe, and nine-inch glass globe, magnifying and burning glasses mirrors, etc.

[39] See *Madr. Ep. Rep.*, 1911, p. 90. Mr. Krishna Sastri believes that the Tanjore affair here mentioned was probably the alliance with it against Mysore. The inscription mentions a Vîra Vêṅkaṭa Dêva as suzerain, and Mr. Krishna Sastri, instead of seeing that it is a formal affair, makes the mistake of reconciling this with Vêṅkaṭa II of the Chandragiri dynasty!!

the command of the celebrated Zulfikar Khan, the general who was entrusted with the task of capturing Jinji and its illustrious Maratha occupant, Râja Râm, the brother and successor of Sâmbâji, burst as a sort of diversion into the south, with a view to collect the tribute of the various tributary kingdoms. Till 1650 the South Indian powers had acknowledged the supremacy of the Deccan Sultans. The Marathas then obtained by their sword the right of collecting the tributes. With their head-quarters at Jinji, they succeeded, for the space of a generation, in extorting the allegiance of the South Indian powers; but in 1688, the ambition of Aurangzeb, which had not only extinguished the Pathan kingdoms of Bîjapur and Golkonda, but compelled the Maratha ruler Râja Râm to flee from his native country and take refuge at Jinji, desired to bring the various powers of South India directly under the Empire. It was with this intention that Zulfikar Khan, who was besieging "the Eastern Troy" from 1690 onward, carried his army in 1693 further south. As might be expected, his march was a triumphal progress. The Maratha ruler of Tanjore, Shahji, readily obeyed and paid tribute. The turn of Madura then came. Maṅgammâḷ knew that the opposition against the Mughal arms would be suicidal; that far from procuring her independence it would mean ruin Further north, even the powerful Chikka Dêva had conciliated the Mughals. Nearer, Tanjore had just submitted. Both traditions and present circumstance, therefore, both self-interest and precedent, told Maṅgammâḷ that she must yield. She therefore readily acknowledged the Empire and paid the tribute of a suppliant vassal. It is not known, however, how much she had to pay. Indeed Maṅgammâḷ did not only make the best of a trying situation, but positively made it a source of service and advantage to her. She seems to have utilized the arbitration and the resources of the Empire against Tanjore, whose encroachments into her territory did not cease. The *Bundela Journal* says that, in 1697, Zulfikar Khan led a second expedition into the South, and that "when he arrived near Tanjore, the Zemindar of Trichinopoly sent a considerable offering, with requests of assistance to recover several places which the Raja of Tanjore had taken from him". Zulfikar Khan complied with the request, and obliged Tanjore to restore them.[40]

Her wise policy towards the Mughal Empire.

That she wisely endeavoured to acknowledge the imperial suzerainty and availed herself of it when attacked by enemies is clear not only from the incidents already described but from an event which took place in 1702. Niccolas Manucci[41] tells us that, on April 20, 1702, she sent a letter to the Deputy Nawab of the Carnatic, Dâ'ûd Khan, just then besieging the English in Madras,[42] requesting him "to undertake in person to assist her in the war

[40] Scott II, p. 93. "The Raja of Trichinopoly was an infant, and the power of the State vested in his mother, a woman of great abilities who conducted affairs with masculine courage." It is not improbable that an invasion of the South by a certain "Mulla" in 1696 referred to in the *Tanjore Gazr.* p. 42, refers to this expedition. Zulfikar Khan led a similar excursion in 1700. *Ibid*, p. 96.

[41] See *Storia do Mogor*, Vol. III, p. 411.

[42] For Dâ'ûd Khan's dealings with the English, Manucci's part therein, and other details, see *Madras in Olden Times*, Vol. I, p. 375-406; *Storia do Mogor*, III, 384-414. Dâ'ûd Khan completed the work of Zulfikar Khan in the conquest of the Carnatic. In 1702 he captured Vellore, the last remaining possession of Râja Râm in the south. See *Storia do Mogor*, III, p. 421, and 486-7, Manucci gives a description of the Vellore fort, its ditch with its enormous crocodiles, and the practice of the people in throwing themselves into the ditch as a sacrifice for their sins, or sacrificing buffaloes, cows and goats. Dâ'ûd Khan threw the thieves of Vellore into the ditch as a thank-offering for his success. For an account of Vellore under the Muhammadan chiefs, see Taylor's *Rest. MSS.* II. It contains some very curious and interesting facts, but is not germane to our purpose.

she was obliged to wage against the Prince of Aurapaliam (Uḍayâr-pâḷayam), another tributary of the Moghul. This man had already seized some of her towns. The letter stated with much exaggeration the iniquity of the Rajah's proceedings, and was fitted with humble words and prayers intended to influence the general to come to her aid. With it came some very fine presents to be sent on to Aurangzeb, some for Dâ'ûd Khan and some for the *diwan*. They consisted in a number of valuable trinkets and precious stones for the king, 20,000 rupees in silver coin for the general, and 10,000 for the *diwan*—a metal with more virtues in the eyes of these gentry than the most polished orations or the most loquacious tongues". Manucci proceeds to say that, most probably on account of the siege of Madras, Dâ'ûd Khan wrote to her regretting his inability to respond to her prayer, but sent her a few troops.

The earnest endeavour on the part of Maṅgammâḷ to keep in good terms with the Empire at any cost is clear in another incident which took place at the end of 1702. Dâ'ûd Khan had driven the Marathas completely from the Carnatic by that time, and Aurangzeb wrote to him "to force payment from the Rajah of Tanjore, the Queen of Trichinopoly, and some other neighbouring princes, of the tribute they had hitherto paid to the Mahrattas." These sums were to be in addition to the tribute previously collected by him from these princes. In his order the emperor set forth his reasons for making such a demand. Of these, the principal was that he had disbursed enormous sums in the conquest of the Marathas and in rescuing these kingdoms from a state of never-ending pillage. It was a matter of justice, therefore, that they should bear a cost of the imperial war with the Marathas. In conformity with these orders, Dâ'ûd Khan demanded an enhanced tribute from Tanjore and Trichinopoly, besides a contribution of 300 and 100 elephants respectively to the Empire,—to replace those that had been lost during the war. Both the rulers pleaded poverty in vain. But they knew that the Mughal's object was, as Manucci says, to dispoil them and " to become the master of all their territories and their treasures." They had therefore to purchase their safety by furnishing to the Mughal General, " not the number of elephants he claimed, but as many as could be found in their states and belonging to their subjects."[43] After all, the Mughal did not give them efficient protection. For in May 1704,[44] the Marathas who, by this time, were penetrating into every corner of the Mughal Empire, raided the Carnatic, conquered the fortress of Serava once the capital of Carnatic Bîjapur and now an imperial possession, once again; entered the country adjoining the territories of the kingdom of Trichinopoly and " realised a very large sum as tribute ;" and then proceeding to Tanjore, sealed an alliance between the Maharashtra and the colony by the celebration of the marriage of the Tanjore princess with the son of Râmachandra Pant, the great statesman in whose hands the administration of the Maratha affairs had been entrusted by Queen Tara Bai.

The Mysore invasion of the Koṅgu Province.

It seems that, immediately after her submission to the Empire, Maṅgammâḷ had to defend her kingdom against a formidable invasion of the Mysoreans. It is to the great credit of the Mysore king, Chikka Dêva Râya, that while the other kingdoms of South India were tottering down, he was able to bring about an expansion of his kingdom. With rare diplomatic genius he persuaded the Mughals, who had seized Bîjapur and organized its dependent possessions in

43 *Storia do Mogor*, III, p. 423-4.

44 *Ibid*, p. 503.

the Carnatic into the new Mughal province of Sera[45], to sell Bangalore and its neighbourhood, which they had just seized from King Shahji of Tanjore, to himself for three lakhs of rupees. Assiduously cultivating an alliance with Aurangzeb, Chikka Dêva proceeded to extend his territories in directions that would not interfere with the Mughal activities. He deprived, for instance, Bednore of many of its districts. Above all, he invaded the possession of Maṅgammâḷ, and carried devastation into the disputed areas of Salem and Coimbatore. Almost all the Polygars of Koṅgu Nâḍ yielded,[46] and agreed to pay the *peshkash* in future to Srîrangapatṇam instead of Madura. Not contented, the Mysoreans under Daḷavâi Kumâra Râya were soon at Trichinopoly itself. The Nâik capital was besieged, and Kumâra Râya vowed that he would never return to Srîraṅgapaṭṇam without capturing the city. The Daḷavâi, however, had more enthusiasm than success. An irruption of the Marathas into Mysore in the North necessitated the despatch of a large part of his army to Srîraṅgapaṭṇam; and as a result of this, he had (apparently) to abandon the siege and return to Mysore. It is not improbable that Narassappaiya, the Daḷavâi of Maṅgammâḷ, took advantage of the diminution of the Mysore army to take the offensive and compel its retreat, thereby recovering much, if not all, of the lost territory.

The War with Travancore.

The war with Mysore was followed in 1698 by a war with Travancore.[47] The Râjas of Travancore had, ever since its subjugation by the Vijayanagar Emperor Achyuta Râya, saluted the Madura flag and paid tribute. But during the troublous times of Chokkanâtha, the then ruler Ravi Varma availed himself of the exhaustion of Madura to violate the faith of the previous engagements and withhold the tribute. In the time of Raṅga Kriṣhṇa there was a reaction, but once again, on the death of that monarch, the king of Travancore became disaffected and imperious. This attitude kindled the anger of the queen-regent. She immediately set military operations on foot, and in 1697, despatched a punitive expedition into the Western kingdom. After a laborious march, the Nâik army reached, by way of the rocky defile north of the cape, the town of Korkuḷam, identified by Nelson with Quilon, whither the forces of Travancore had already marched with a view to check the enemy. When the two armies lay opposite to each other, the Râja of Travancore proposed that, in case his adversary co-operated with him in the overthrow of some of his ministers who had opposed his authority and insulted his dignity, he would surrender the place and agree to pay tribute. The Vaḍugas agreed; the obnoxious ministers were either taken and executed or exiled, and it remained for the Travancore ruler to fulfil his promise. He ceded the town, but he had evidently resolved on treachery from the very beginning. As soon as the forces of Madura occupied the town and felt themselves secure, they were suddenly attacked before they had time to gather, and were almost cut down to a man. A few fortunate men escaped to carry the tale of disaster. The revengeful spirit of Maṅgammâḷ was at once aroused to a pitch of fury. Mustering all her resources she organized a new and more powerful expedition under the command of the ablest general, Narasappaiya. The course of the war is uncertain, but we know that Narasa succeeded in avenging the recent disgrace, ravaged Travancore,

[45] Rice, I, p. 367-8. Wilks. I [46] See Appendix *The Côimbatore Pâḷayams*, for details.

[47] From 1661 to 1677 the Travancore king was one Adityavarma. He and his relatives were murdered in 1677 and his niece Umayama Râṇi became regent. Her administration witnessed a disaster in a Muhammadan raid, the raider establishing himself in Trivandrum itself. He was however driven out eventually by the General Kêraḷavarma. The regent's son Ravivarma attained age in 1684 and was then crowned. He ruled till 1718 and it was in his time that Maṅgammâḷ invaded the realm. See *Antiquities*, II, 239.

and besides gaining enormous spoils, compelled the Raja to pay the arrears of tribute and guarantee its future payment. The spoils of the war included some fine cannon, which were taken by the Daḷavâi and planted in the bastions " of Madura and Trichinopoly.[48] The later Mr. Nelson instituted inquiries about them, but he was unable to definitely ascertain their fate.)

War with Tanjore, 1700-1.

After the conclusion of peace with Ravi Varma, Maṅgammâḷ was compelled to declare war against King Shahji of Tanjore. With true Maratha ambition, he had been gradually encroaching into the Madura territory, and annexed a number of villages along the banks of the Kâveri. He had also instituted frequent raids into the Madura kingdom for the sake of spoils. The vigilance of the Toṇḍamân and the martial valour of the Sêtupati baffled many a time the Tanjorean invaders; but Maṅgammâḷ could not brook the continuance of such a state of things. She therefore ordered Narasappaiya, as soon as he returned from his Travancore expedition, to take steps against Tanjore, Narasappaiya was at first on the defensive. Either the exhaustion of his army or the requirements of economy dissuaded him from an extensive programme and offensive enterprise. He therefore simply stationed his forces on the Southern banks of the river, with a view of checking the detached irruptions of the Tanjore cavalry. The agility and activity of the latter proved more than equal to the slowly moving army of the Vaḍugas. The depredations into Madura continued, and Narasa had to take firm and immediate steps to chastise the insolence of the Maratha. Not caring to engage the foes before him, he took the route direct to Tanjore. By slow and cautious march he soon found himself in the vicinity of the Maratha capital. Sudden floods of the tributaries of the Kâveri prevented an effective opposition on the part of the Tanjore general, and the army that came to meet the invaders was practically exterminated. There was at once a panic in the city. The king was alarmed and the people were in despair. Shahji felt that the disaster must be due to the inactivity and treachery of his minister, Vanoji Pandit.[49] Rightly or wrongly he held him to be the author of the trouble and threatened him with instant death, if the enemy were still suffered to progress. Vanoji Pandit vowed to sacrifice his life, if he did not make the enemy abandon the march and return to Trichinopoly in the course of a week. The shrewd minister depended for success, not on a new muster of forces or a new organization of the army, but on the enemy's love of money. In his view every person in the Madura kingdom had a price, and he resolved to coax Maṅgammâḷ and her Daḷavâi by heaps of coins to conclude peace. But the necessary sum was not forthcoming. The treasury was empty and the king unsympathetic. But to the desperate situation of the minister, the ways and means were not wanting. Poor people were compelled to part with their meagre hoards, and merchants were menaced to disgorge their profits. Everybody in the pay of Maṅgammâḷ was then made richer. The queen herself was satisfied by a big war indemnity. Her ministers were equally gratified, and above all, the father of Narasappaiya, a person whose love of money amounted to a passion, had full satisfaction! The result was that the Madura army was in a week on its way to Trichinopoly. The life of Vanoji Pandit, as well as the kingdom of Tanjore, was safe.

(To be continued.)

[48] For an account of Trichinopoly and its fort in 1719 by Father Bouchet, see Moore's *Trichinopoly Manual*, 130-131. He points out that the fort was the finest between Cape Comorin and Golkonda, that it was impregnable in the eyes of the people, and that its double wall, with its 60 towers, had 130 pieces of cannon mounted on it. The population, he says, was 300,000.

[49] He was the same as the Srî Vanaji Paṇḍitar, an inscription of whom, dated 1686-7, is found at Paṭṭukkôṭṭai fort, saying that he conquered all Sêtupati territory as far as the Pâmbanâr. (*Tanj. Gazr.*, p. 43.) We cannot say how far the Madura accounts are credible.

MISCELLANEA.

THE MAHIMNASTAVA AND ITS AUTHOR

This celebrated hymn is ascribed generally, though not unanimously, to Pushpadanta, a king of the *Gandharvas*. This is on the face of it a legend,—a figment of a clever brain who evidently meant to express his great veneration for the poem by associating with a 'lord of celestial musicians' and adding a few spurious verses to that effect at the end. A solitary commentator, Dechyâmâtya, however, brings it back from heaven and preserves a tradition of its having been written by the celebrated Kumarilabhaṭṭa (*Descriptive Cat. of Govt. Oriental Library, Mysore*, No. 11120.) As to its probable age, Aufrecht (Oxf. *Cat.* p. 131) could not trace its verses earlier than the time of Ujjvaladatta, who quotes the line गतं रोहिद्भूतां रिरमयिषुमृष्यस्य वपुषा under I. 48 and 99. This is of little value, for a commentary itself by Vopadeva(Bhandarkar's sixth *Rep.* No. 433) carries us further back. An earlier quotation is to be found in Sarvânanda's *Tîkâsarvasva* (*Triv. Sans. Series*, Part I, p. 17), which was written soon after 1159 A.D. But a clear solution of both age and authorship is perhaps to be found in the following passage of सोमदेव's यशस्तिलकचम्पू, (*Kâvyamâlâ* Ed., Part II, p. 255) written in A. D. 959.

"अन्यथाभूतस्यासतायाम्—आस्तांतवान्यदपि तावदतुल्यकक्षमैश्वर्यमीश्वरपदस्य निमित्तभूतं । त्वच्छेकसोऽपि भगवन्न गतोवसानं विष्णुः पितामहयुतः किमुतापरस्य ॥ इति रथःक्षोणी यन्ता शतधृतिरगेन्द्रो धनुरथो रथाङ्गे चन्द्रार्कौ रथचरणपाणिः शर इति । दिधक्षोस्ते कोयं त्रिपुरतृणमाडम्बरविधिर्विधेयैः क्रीडन्त्यो न खलु परतन्त्राः प्रभुधियः ॥ इति च ग्राहिल–भाषितम् ॥" "रथःक्षोणी" is verse 18 of the hymn, and as there is nothing to show that it was a later interpolation, the whole hymn must have been written by one *Grahila.*

D. C. BHATTACHARYYA, M.A.

BOOK NOTICE.

Intercourse between India and the Western World from the earliest times to the fall of Rome. By H. G. RAWLINSON, M.A., I. E. S. Cambridge; at the University Press, 1916.

THE book has been very much praised on all hands, and, I think, rightly so. And it is a matter of great surprise to find a Professor of English writing such a well-informing and interesting book on such a difficult antiquarian subject. There can be no doubt that it supplies a long-felt want and that it will be very widely read both by Europeans and Indians, especially as it is written in a popular style. The book can certainly, on the whole, be safely recommended for general perusal. The author has evidently taken great pains to make himself acquainted with almost all that has been written on the subject by various scholars and antiquarians and has as a rule wisely used his power of discrimination where there is a divergence of opinion among the experts. The book, in short, is all that a most intelligent and painstaking layman can put together.

The book, however, is not entirely without faults, and if they are eradicated in the second edition, the necessity for which we have no doubt will be felt before long, it will leave nothing to be desired. Here I shall refer only to these points to which attention has not already been drawn in its reviews elsewhere. On p. 85, the author says: 'Perhaps the latest reference to them (Yavanas) occurs in the inscription of the Ândhra queen Bâlaśrî, A.D. 144; who boasts that she rooted the "Śakas, Yavanas, and Pahlavas" out of the Deccan for ever,' and mentions in a footnote that this inscription is at Karla. Here he has fallen into three blunders. In the first place, the name of the queen is not Bâlaśrî but Balaśrî. Secondly, the person who rooted out these foreigners is not this queen, but her son Gautamîputra Śâtakarṇi. And, thirdly, the inscription is not in a cave at Karla but at Nasik. The diacritical marks sometimes are not properly used. Thus for *Tâgara* (p. 19) we should have Tagara, for *Anurâdhapur* (p. 152) Anurâdhâpur, for *Pâduka* (p. 168) *Pâdukâ*, and for *Pâtika* (p. 87) *Patika*. The expression 'the rape of Sîtâ in the *Râmâyaṇa*,' (p. 141) does not bespeak the author's close acquaintance with Vâlmîki's work or even its accurate translations. The word 'unsurmountable' occurring on p. 159 must be a misprint for 'insurmountable.'

Y. R. GUPTE.

A THIRD JOURNEY OF EXPLORATION IN CENTRAL ASIA, 1913-16.

BY SIR AUREL STEIN, K.C.I.E., D.LITT.

(*Continued from p.* 144.)

SIMULTANEOUSLY I had to push on preparations for the explorations which were to take our several parties into the waterless desert north and north-east of the extant Lop-nor. It was some help that the small colony of Lopliks, formerly living at Abdal, whom a slow impulse is gradually turning from semi-nomadic fishermen and hunters into somewhat casual agriculturists, had since 1908 transferred their homesteads to the patches of land now again irrigated from the stream of Miran. But apart from their exceedingly scanty resources and the struggle with their evasive cunning, I had another source of worry to face during those anxious days. Within a week of my arrival at Miran, I received a letter from Sir George Macartney bringing serious news. From the headquarters of the provincial Government at Urumchi an edict had issued ordering the district authorities to prevent all surveying work on our part, and in case of any attempt to continue our explorations to arrest and send us under escort to Kashgar "for punishment under treaty." There is neither room nor need here to discuss the probable motives of this intended obstruction, or the alleged regulations by the General staff of the Chinese Republic quoted in explanation. I knew that the intercession of our Minister at Peking had been immediately invoked from Kashgar by my ever-watchful friend and protector. But that help could make itself felt only after months. In the meantime I should have to contend, if not with an attempt at forcible interference, yet with Chinese passive obstruction easy enough to apply in my circumstances and particularly dangerous to my plans. Soon there arrived a copy of the edict from the officious Amban at Kara-shahr, whom I had previously asked for a Mongol interpreter. I could gauge the force of the import and language when I saw the sallow face of my poor shrivelled Chinese secretary turning a livid grey as he read through the document and explained it.

Evening after evening as I came back from the day's work at the ruins I looked anxiously among my indolent Lopliks for the first signs of the feared passive resistance to my plans which would have so well suited their natural bent. But fortunately the expected prohibition from Charkhlik never came. As I found out later, I owed this lucky escape to the opportune "revolutionary" outbreak. It had disposed of the original district magistrate before he could take any action. His rebel successor, who had taken charge of the Yamen and found the orders there, had more urgent and profitable business to attend to before he was killed himself. And subsequently the military commandants, in strict observance of Chinese official convention, had carefully abstained from looking into civil affairs, and kept the Yamen papers sealed up until the new Amban had arrived from Urumchi and taken charge of the seal of office. But what a relief it was when I had safely collected all I needed and could set out for the waterless desert where I should know myself completely protected from any risk of human interference! Great as were the difficulties and risks from lifeless nature to be faced there, I was buoyed up by the assurance of freedom for the timely execution of my plans.

On January 23 I had started Lal Singh northward by the Tarim to Tikenlik, where he was to pick up the seven strong camels I had asked Abdu'r-Rahim, the hardy hunter from Singer and our old guide in the Kuruk-tagh, to provide. Thence he was to carry out an exact survey of the ancient river-bed and its branches by which the waters of Konchedarya

once reached the area, now wholly desiccated desert, south of the Kuruk-tagh foothills, where Hedin in 1900 had first discovered the ruins of the "Lou-lan" site. The latter was to be our rendezvous. Surveyor Muhammad Yakub Khan, some days later, was sent off with five camels by the desert track to Tun-huang in order to carry a series of exact levelling operations from the eastern end of the great salt-encrusted basin which marks the ancient dried-up Lop Sea, towards the termination of the Su-lo Ho drainage.

My own tasks included the excavation of any ruins which the intended exploration of the dried-up delta of the "Kuruk-darya" and the search for the ancient Chinese route once leading eastwards from Lou-lan might reveal. In order to assure adequate time for the latter rather hazardous task and for the survey of the unexplored north and east portions of the great salt-encrusted sea-bed, which, there was reason to assume, that ancient route must have passed through or skirted, it was essential to effect excavations rapidly, and therefore to take along as many labourers as I could possibly manage to keep supplied with water, *recte* ice. What with big loads of ice sufficient to assure minimum allowances of water for thirty-five people for at least one month, with food supplies of one month for all and of an additional month for my own people, and what with the indispensable outfit of furs, felts, etc., to afford protection in the wintry desert exposed to icy gales, the thirty camels I had succeeded in raising, including our own, were by no means too many. It goes without saying that everybody had to walk, and that the labourers had to help by the carriage of light loads.

It was a great relief when, on February 1, I had safely started this big column for the desert north-eastward. Next day we took up our water-supply in the shape of big blocks of ice packed in bags from a terminal lagoon of the Tarim. Thence four marches brought us to my immediate goal, a large ruined fort which had first been sighted by Tokhta Akhun, my faithful old Loplik follower, apparently in 1910, when he returned from the Lou-lan site after guiding there Mr. Tachibana, the young Japanese explorer. By clearing the substantial dwellings within, we recovered plentiful relics in the shape of architectural wood-carvings, implements, coins, etc., these proved occupation to have ceased here about the same period, early in the fourth century A.D., as at the "Lou-lan" site. Wind-erosion had deeply scoured the ground outside, but had not succeeded in more than breaching in places the very solid enclosing rampart built of alternate layers of brushwood fascines and stamped clay, after the fashion of the ancient Chinese *Limes*. A well-marked dry river-course near the fort was easily traced by the rows of fallen dead trees once lining the banks, and the direction clearly proved it to have been a southern branch of the ancient Kuruk-darya ("the dry river"), which once had carried water to the Lou-lan site.

By following up this river-course we came upon a second and smaller fort, and a reconnaissance north of it soon led to the discovery of the scattered remains of an extensive settlement. The dwellings, built of timber and wattle after the fashion of those at the Niya site, had suffered greatly through the erosive action of wind-driven sand. Yet, where consolidated refuse heaps had helped to protect the original floors, we found ancient records on wood and paper in Kharoshthi and another Indian script, as well as in Chinese and Early Sogdian, besides very interesting and well-preserved remains of furniture, personal equipment, fabrics, and the like. There could be no doubt that this settlement, too, had been occupied down to the beginning of the fourth century A.D., and by people sharing the same well-developed civilization due to the mixture of Indian, Chinese, and Western influences which my finds of 1906 at the Lou-lan site had illustrated.

The exact antiquarian evidence here obtained has its special value, because it enables us to date a variety of physical features which I could observe in the immediate vicinity of the ruined settlement. They throw fresh light on the hydrography and early occupation of this part of the Lop-nor region during historical times and those immediately preceding them. For the latter the abundant finds of stone implements, such as Neolithic arrow-heads and jade celts, which were picked up from the eroded surface of the ground near these ruins afforded a very useful guide. The fact that these finds of stone implements continued over most of the wind-eroded ground up to the Lou-lan site had a significant bearing on the so-called "Lop-nor problem," the discussion of which has long been carried on without an adequate basis of surveys.

It was similarly important that on the two long marches which brought us there we met a succession of ancient river-beds all lined by rows of dead Toghrak (wild-poplar) trees, and clearly recognizable by their direction as having branched off from the "Dry River" skirting the foot of the Kuruk-tagh. It was plainly a considerable delta, not a large terminal lake, which had existed here during the historical times accessible to antiquarian evidence, and our new surveys have shown how far it extended south and south-west. Finds of Chinese Han coins and of small metal and pottery fragments of undoubtedly the same historical period mingled freely with those of the Stone Age, just on the ground where (according to a recent theory) we ought to have been crossing the position assumed for the Lop-nor of the epoch when Lou-lan was occupied.

It was long after nightfall on February 10 that we struggled through to the old Chinese station marked by the chief ruins of the Lou-lan site. It was very trying ground we had to cross all day, cut up by wind erosion into an unending succession of narrow and steep clay terraces all running east-north-east to west-south-west, the direction of the prevailing wind, and very difficult for the camels to pass. From our base camp at the foot of the familiar Stupa ruin I pushed out reconnaissances into the unknown desert to the east and north-east, while keeping my diggers at work on deeper deposits of refuse, etc., which had escaped attention during the stress of our previous visit. Among the numerous finds of ancient documents on wood and paper which rewarded this clearing, I may specially mention one, unfortunately fragmentary, which shows a script as yet unrepresented among all our former collections. The rest were in Chinese, Kharoshthi, and the Iranian language known since my finds of 1906–07 as Early Sogdian.

Quite as interesting to me were the series of close observations I was able to make on ground immediately adjoining the ruins, as to the levels at which the process of denudation and wind-erosion had been arrested from time to time by a temporary return of moisture and desert vegetation affording protection to the soil. These clearly showed that the process, striking as its effects everywhere are, had been neither constant nor uniform during the sixteen hundred years which have passed since the abandonment of the station. Hence a mere line of levelling carried across areas which wind-erosion has affected in such different ways, could not, in the absence of dateable marks in the shape of structural or other remains, be expected to yield reliable outlines of the hydrographic configuration of the ground at earlier periods.

But the chance for more exciting work came when I could follow up what the reconnaissance surveys, carried out particularly by Afrazgul Khan, my young Pathan surveyor, with great zeal and intelligence, had revealed towards the north-east. There on ground wholly untouched by human feet for so many centuries, I had hoped to find ruins near what

I conjectured to have been the line of the earliest Chinese route leading into the Tarim Basin from Tun-huang and the extreme west of China proper. A succession of important discoveries soon confirmed that hope. On the top of a large clay terrace or *mesha*, rising steeply some 35 feet above the eroded ground-level, I came upon most interesting remains of an ancient burial-ground. On the sides of the mound graves had been partially exposed and destroyed by wind-erosion undercutting the banks and causing them to fall. But the top of the *mesha* had been safe from this destructive agent, and there we found a series of large grave pits which yielded a rich antiquarian haul in quite bewildering confusion.

Mixed up with human bones and fragments of coffins there emerged here in abundance household implements of all sorts, objects of personal use such as decorated bronze mirrors wooden models of arms, Chinese records on paper and wood, and, above all, a wonderful variety of fabrics which delighted my eye. Among them were beautifully coloured silks, pieces of rich brocade and embroidery, fragments of fine pile carpets by the side of coarse fabrics in wool and felts. It soon became evident that these remnants of garments of all sorts had been used for wrapping up bodies, perhaps partially embalmed. I could not have wished for a more representative exhibition of that ancient Chinese silk trade which we know to have been a chief factor in opening up this earliest route for China's direct intercourse with Central Asia and the distant West, and which had passed along here for centuries.

A variety of very interesting problems as to the origin of designs etc., usually attributed to Persian art of the Sassanian period had been raised by the fine decorated silk fabrics I had discovered on my former journey in the walled-up cave temple of the "Thousand Buddhas" near Tun-huang. Here a mass of far older and dateable materials was coming to light to help to solve these problems. I soon realized, from various indications, that the contents of these pits must have been collected, before the final abandonment of the Chinese military station of Lou-lan, from older graves which wind-erosion or some similar cause had exposed or was threatening. Consequently the relics, here saved in obedience to a pious custom still prevalent among the Chinese, could safely be assigned to that period of the rule of the Han dynasty, which followed the first expansion of Chinese trade and power into Central Asia about the close of the second century B.C. There was no time then to examine the wealth of beautiful designs and colours making a feast for my eyes. But I felt that in this utter desolation of the wind-eroded clay desert, where nature was wholly dead and even the very soil was being reduced, as it were, to the condition of a skeleton, there had opened up a new and fascinating chapter in the history of textile art. It will take years to read it in full clearness.

My satisfaction was equally great when, after a long and fatiguing tramp from our base, I found myself by nightfall at a large walled enclosure near to where one of the dry river-beds passing the Lou-lan site seemed to merge in the hard salt expanse of an ancient terminal marsh. We had struck the fortified *castrum* which, as close examination soon showed, had served as a *point d'appui* for Chinese missions and troops where they first reached Lou-lan territory after having crossed the salt-encrusted dry lake-bed and skirted its absolutely barren north shores. Its walls, built with regular alternate layers of clay and carefully secured reed fascines, and remarkably well preserved after two thousand years' exposure, showed constructive features in closest agreement with those observed in the westernmost extension of the ancient Chinese border wall, which I had discovered and explored in 1907 in the desert of Tun-huang.

There could be no doubt that the fort dated, like the Tun-huang *Limes* itself, from the first military advance of the Chinese into the Tarim Basin, about 104 B.C., and that it represented, as it were, the bridge-head of the desert route by which that advance was made possible. I had become so familiar with that ancient *Limes* and the technical skill displayed in its construction that I could not help rejoicing at the way in which this work from the hands of the same old Chinese engineers had withstood the attacks of that most formidable enemy in this region, wind-erosion. The walls of reed fascines had nowhere been seriously breached, while inside the circumvallation the force of the wind has worked terrible havoc, scouring out big hollows down to 20 feet and more below the ground level and reducing a large central structure to a bare clay terrace strewn with scattered débris of timber. Under the shelter of the north wall, however, refuse heaps had survived, and these yielded Chinese records on wood and paper.

Beyond this fortified Chinese station other remains were traced. Of these it must suffice to mention a small ruined fort which occupied a commanding position on the narrow top of a precipitous clay ridge fully 100 feet high. It had evidently served as a stronghold and look-out post for some chief of the indigenous population of Lou-lan. Of the type, habits, and civilization of the Lou-lan people, as the Chinese found them on the first opening of the route through the desert, the Han Annals have preserved some curious notes. The accuracy of these was illustrated in a most striking fashion by the examination of the graves covering the other end of the clay ridge. Here we found the bodies of men and women, probably members of the old chief's family, in a truly wonderful state of preservation, due, no doubt, to the absolute dryness of the climate and the safe elevation of their resting-places. The peaked felt caps of the men decorated with big feathers and other trophies of the chase, the arrow-shafts by their side, the simple but strong woollen garments fastened with pins of hard wood, the neatly woven small baskets holding the food for the dead, etc., all indicated a race of semi-nomadic hunters and herdsmen, just as the Chinese describe them.

It was a strange sensation to look down on figures which but for the parched skin seemed like those of men asleep and to feel brought face to face with people who inhabited, and no doubt liked, this dreary Lop-nor region in the first centuries A.D. The features of the heads closely recalled the *homo alpinus* type, which, judging from my anthropometric records, worked up by Mr. T. A. Joyce, still supplies the prevalent element in the racial constitution of the indigenous population of Chinese Turkestan and is seen in its purest form in the Iranian-speaking tribes near the Pamirs. The general appearance of these Lou-lan people seemed curiously to accord with the significant juxtaposition in which small bronze objects of Chinese origin were picked up on the slope below the little fort together with stone implements. There were indications elsewhere, too, suggesting that the interval separating the latest Neolithic period in Lou-lan from the advent of the Chinese may not have been a very long one.

Apart from their direct interest, the discoveries here briefly indicated had a special importance by furnishing me with a safe starting-point and some guidance for the difficult task still before us, that of tracing the line of that famous ancient route through the forbidding desert eastwards. But it was impossible to set out for it at once. Incessant toil in the waterless desert with constant exposure to its icy winds had exhausted our Loplik labourers, hardy plants as they were and pleased with the rewards I gave them. When the last digging at the outlying ruins to the north-east had been done, I had to take them back

to our Lou-lan base camp, whence they could return in safety under Ibrahim Beg's guidance to the world of the living.

The season's initial sand-storm which had broken with full fury on the preceding night and which the Lopliks attributed to the wrath of the dead we had disturbed, made this march exceptionally trying, apart from the risks of straying, which the semi-darkness involved for the men. To my great relief I found Lal Singh safely arrived after accomplishing his survey tasks in the west on a circuit of some 400 miles. He had been duly joined by that plucky hunter, Abdu'r-Rahim, who with his life-long desert experience and his magnificent camels brought fresh strength for our column. It may serve to illustrate the stamina of his animals, bred and reared in the Kuruk-tagh, that the baby camel to which one of them gave birth at the Lou-lan site subsequently traversed with us all those waterless wastes of salt and gravel unharmed and almost throughout on its own legs.

Together we moved then north to the Kuruk-tagh in order to secure for our hard-tried camels a few days' rest with water and grazing at the salt springs of Altmish-bulak. The new route followed on the three days' march allowed me to examine more burial-grounds on the gravel glacis which overlooks the ancient riverine belt, now dried up and eroded by the wind. Their remains proved very helpful for explaining my previous finds east of the Lou-lan site. But even more welcome was the four days' halt at Altmish-bulak. Its springs, saline as they are, gave our brave camels their first chance of a real drink after three weeks, and on the reed beds around them they could gather fresh strength for the hard task still before them. After the dead world we had toiled in, this little patch of vegetation seemed delightful, too, to us humans.

After replenishing our ice supply and taking a carefully arranged store of fuel, we started on February 24 for our respective tasks. The one allotted to Lal Singh was to survey the unknown north-east shores of the great salt-encrusted basin, which represents the fullest extension of the dried-up ancient Lop-nor, and the barren hill ranges of the Kuruk-tagh overlooking them. I myself accompanied by Afrazgul and Shams Din proposed to search for the ancient Chinese route where it left the edge of the once inhabited Lou-lan area, and to trace it over whatever ground it might have crossed right through to where it was likely to have diverged from the line still followed by the desert track, which leads from Tun-huang along the southern shore of the great dried-up Lop Sea towards Miran. It was a fascinating task after my own taste, combining geographical and historical interest, but one attended also by serious difficulties and risks.

From what I knew of the general character of the ground before us, it was certain that we could not hope for water, nor over most of it for fuel to melt our ice with, before striking the Tun-huang caravan track, a matter of some ten days' hard marching judging from the approximately calculated distance. There was a limit to the endurance of our brave camels, and with the heavy loads of ice, fuel, and provisions which had to be carried for the sake of safety, I could not expect the animals, already hard tried by the preceding week's work in absolute desert, to remain fit for more than ten to twelve days. It was impossible to foresee what physical obstacles might be met and might delay us beyond the calculated measure of time in this wilderness devoid of all resources and now more barren, perhaps, than any similarly large area of this globe. And there remained the problem how to hit the line of the ancient route and to track it through on ground which long before the dawn of historical times had ceased to offer any chance for human occupation. For a careful search of any relics left behind by the ancient traffic, which had passed through what the Chinese Annals vaguely

describe as the terrible "desert of the White Dragon Mounds," there would be no time. Much, if not most, had to be left to good fortune—and, combined with what hints I could deduce from previous archæological and topographical observations. Fortune served me better than I had ventured to hope.

Physical difficulties soon presented themselves as we made our way south through and across a perfect maze of steep clay terraces, all eroded by the same east-north-east wind which had sculptured the usual *yardangs* of Lou-lan, but of far greater height. Having thus regained the vicinity of the terminal *point d'appui* above mentioned of the ancient route, I soon found confirmation for my previously formed conjecture that the initial bearing of the route lay to the north-east. It was marked by the almost completely eroded remains of an outlying indigenous camping-place and of an ancient watch-tower of the type familiar to me from the Tun-huang *Limes*, which I opportunely discovered on towering terraces at the very edge of ancient vegetation. We had reached here the extreme eastern limit of the area to which the waters of the Kuruk-darya had once carried life. Beyond there were no ruins to guide us. The desert eastwards was already in ancient times as devoid of plant or animal life of any sort as it now is. As we left behind the withered and bleached fragments of the last dead tamarisk trunk lying on the salt soil, I felt that we had passed from the land of the dead into ground that never knew life—except on the route to be tracked.

As we steered onwards by the compass across absolutely barren wastes of clayey *shôr*, detritus or hard salt crust, chance helped us in a way which at times seemed almost uncanny. Again and again finds of early Chinese copper coins, small metal objects, stone ornaments and the like gave assurance that we were still near the ancient track by which Chinese political missions, troops and traders had toiled for four centuries through this lifeless wilderness. It is impossible to record here exact details of all such finds. But I may at least briefly mention two thrilling incidents which by their nature helped greatly to raise the spirits of my men and filled them with superstitious confidence in some spirits' safe guidance. At the time they made me to feel as if I were living through in reality experiences dimly remembered from some of Jules Verne's fascinating stories I had read as a small boy.

Thus, on the third day of our march, when the last traces of ancient desert vegetation had long remained behind, we suddenly found the ancient track plainly marked for about 30 yards by over two hundred Chinese copper coins strewing the dismal ground of salt-encrusted clay. They lay in a well-defined line running north-east to south-west, just as if some kindly spirit among those patient old Chinese wayfarers, who had faced this awful route with its hardships and perils, had wished to assure us that the bearing I was steering by was the right one. In reality they must have got loose from the string which tied them and gradually dropped out unobserved through an opening in their bag or case. The coins were all of the Han type, and seemed as if fresh from some mint. Some 50 yards further on in the same direction we came upon a similar scattered heap of bronze arrow-heads, all manifestly unused and looking as if newly issued from some arsenal of Han times. Their shape and weight exactly agreed with the ancient Han ammunition I had picked up so often along the *Limes* of Tun-huang, which was garrisoned during the first century before and after Christ. The way in which the coins and arrow-heads had been allowed to remain on the ground suggested that they had dropped from some convoy of stores in Han times which was moving at night-time and probably a little off the main track but still in the right direction.

Next day's long march brought another discovery equally stirring and useful. We had followed our north-easterly course across easy ground of bare clay and mica detritus

when it approached at a slant a forbidding belt of salt-coated erosion terraces clearly of the type to which the Chinese of Han times had applied the graphic designation of "White Dragon Mounds." I knew it foreboded the close vicinity of that ancient sea-bed encrusted with hard crumpled salt which I was anxious to steer clear of as long as possible, on account of the terrible surface it would present for our poor camels' feet. They were sore already and the painful process of "re-soling" had to be resorted to night after night. I was just preparing to climb the prominent *mesha* which had served as our guiding point and to use it as a look-out, when we found on its slopes Chinese coins, soon followed by quite a collection of metal objects, including bronze ornaments and a well-preserved dagger and bridle in iron. Evidently the terrace had served as a regular halting-place, and a careful inspection of the ground ahead suggested that it had been used for this purpose, because at its foot was the first piece of ground level and tolerably clear of salt which travellers would strike after passing through the forbidding maze of "White Dragon Mounds" and the dried-up sea-bottom beyond.

I had to decide whether I was to strike across the latter now or to skirt the ancient sea-shore by continuing the north-east course, which threatened to take us further and further away from where we hoped to find water. It might have meant a détour of days, and the interpretation I put on our lucky find encouraged me to avoid this by heading straight for the dead salt sea. That evening we had reached its shore-line, and the crossing effected next day proved how wise the change of direction had been. The march across the petrified sea, with its hard salt crust crumpled up into knife-like small pressure ridges, was a most trying experience for camels and us men alike. But when this weary tramp of 20 miles, more fatiguing than any I ever had in the desert, had safely brought us to the first spot of soft salt in front of the opposite line of salt-covered erosion terraces, and we could halt for a night's rest, I had good reason to feel glad for my choice and grateful for the find which had prompted it. As the following marches proved, we had crossed the forbidding sea of hard crumpled salt at the very point where it was narrowest, and had thus escaped a night's halt on ground where neither beast nor man could have found a spot to rest in comfort. It was, no doubt, this advantage which had determined those old Chinese pioneers in the choice of this line for their route.

Helped by finds of coins and the like, we continued to track the route over ground still absolutely barren, until we reached, three days later, the last offshoot of the low desert range which overlooks from the north the extreme eastern extension of the ancient dried-up sea-bed. Then, as we skirted its shore-line under steep cliffs looking exactly like those of a sea still in being I had the satisfaction of finding the ancient track in places still plainly marked in the salt-encrusted ground. It was a strange sensation when my eyes first caught the straight line of the ancient road, where it cuts for nearly 2 miles across a small bay of the petrified sea. It showed a uniform width of some 20 feet, and was worn down to a depth of about 1 foot in the surface of hard salt cakes, as a result of the passage for centuries of transport animals, and probably carts too. There was ocular evidence here of the magnitude of the traffic which had once moved through these barren solitudes. But how those patient old Chinese organizers of transport had maintained it over some 150 miles of ground without water, fuel, or grazing still remains somewhat of a problem.

(*To be continued.*)

OUTLINES OF THE HISTORY OF ALAMKARA LITERATURE.

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The Chronology of Alaṁkâra Literature.

Part II.

(*Continued from Vol. XL., p.* 288.)

THE history of *Alaṁkâra* literature falls under two sections. One section should show how, from small beginnings, a complete theory of Poetics (including the figures of speech) was evolved. In this section we saw how at the outset there were only a few well-recognized *alaṁkâras* and how in course of time subtle distinctions were made between one *alaṁkâra* and another. It has been said, with a good deal of truth, that the Indian mind revels in subtle distinctions, divisions and classifications. This branch of Sanskrit Literature is as good an example of this tendency as any other. Sometimes even the most trivial circumstance has been thought sufficient to create a separate figure. In the second section, upon which we now propose to enter, we shall try to establish, as far as the materials at our disposal enable us, the chronology of the most prominent writers on the *Alaṁkâra-Śâstra.*

The first question that naturally arises is: What is the most ancient work on the *Alaṁkâra-Śâstra*? In reply to this question, the *Agnipurâṇa* is put forward as the original of all later doctrines on the subject. We shall therefore examine the claims of the *Agnipurâṇa* to be regarded as the most ancient work on the *Alaṁkâra-Śâstra.*

The Agnipurâṇa.

Some commentators of the *Kâvyaprakâśa* say that Bharata, in order to introduce through the medium of sweet poetry the tender minds of princes to more profound studies, composed concise *Kârikâs*, the materials for which he drew from the *Agnipurâṇâ.*[1] We think that this respect paid to the *Agnipurâṇa* is due to a misconception on the part of these writers and that the *Agnipurâṇa* is not entitled to the honour of being looked upon as the most ancient work on the *Alaṁkâra-Śâstra.*

The *Agnipurâṇa* is a hotch-potch, an encyclopædia of heterogeneous materials, something like 'Enquire within upon everything.' It is impossible to attempt to give even a brief summary of the contents of the eleven thousand verses of the *Agnipurâṇa* (in the *Bibliotheca Indica* series). The curious reader must refer to the preface of Dr. Rajendralal Mitra. We shall give here a brief analysis of that part (chapters 336—346) which deals with figures of speech and other kindred matters. In chapter 336, after defining *Kâvya* and dividing it first into Sanskrit and Prâkrit and then into *gadya, padya* and *miśra* (as done by Daṇḍin), the subdivisions of *gadya* (five in number) and of *padya* are defined. In chapter 337 *nâṭakas* and some topics connected therewith are spoken of. In chapter 338 the *rasas* and *bhâvas* are treated of. In 339, the four *rîtis* (Vaidarbhî, Gauḍî, Lâṭî and Pânchâlî) are described. In chapter 340, some points connected with acting are discussed. Chapter 341 speaks of gesticulation, *rasas* and nine *alaṁkâras* of *śabda*. Chapter 342 deals with such figures of *śabda* as *anuprâsa*, *yamaka* and such intricate arrangements of

[1] Mahesvara, in his *Kâvyaprakâśâdarśa*, says: *Sukumârân râjakumârân svâdu-kâvya-pravṛittidvârâ gahane Śâstrântare pravartayitum — Agnipurâṇâd-uddhṛitya Kâvya-ras-âsvâda-kâraṇaṁ = Alaṁkâraśâstraṁ kârikâbhiḥ Saṁkshipya Bharatamuniḥ praṇîtavân.*

The Krishṇânandinî, a comment on the *Sâhityakaumudî* of Vidyâbhûshaṇa, says: *Kâvyarasâsvâdanâya Vahni-purâṇâdi-drishṭâṁ sâhitya-prakriyâṁ Bharataḥ saṁkshiptâbhiḥ kârikâbhir-nibabandha.*

letters as *gômûtrikâbandha*, *sarvatôbhadra*, &c. Chapter 343 dilates upon the figures of sense and 344 on the figures of both word and sense. In chapter 345, seven *guṇas* of Poetry are spoken of, and in chapter 346 the blemishes of Poetry are dealt with.

The evidence for arriving at the conclusion that the *Agnipurâṇa* is not the most original work on *Alaṁkâra* literature is both internal and external.

The internal evidence may be stated as follows :—

I. We have some indications in the *Agnipurâṇa* itself showing that it was not Bharata who copied from it, but rather the reverse. The *Agnipurâṇa* says that the *rîti* styled Bhâratî was so called because it was first promulgated by Bharata.[2] In the *Nâṭyaśâstra*[3] of Bharata we are told that the four *vrittis Bhâratî, Sâttvatî, Kaiśikî* and *Ârabhaṭi* were received by Bharata from Brahmâ and that *Bhâratî Vṛitti* was named after the Bharatas. From the above it is clear that the *Agnipurâṇa* knew that Bharata was the originator of the *Nâṭyaśâstra* (or at least of the *Vrittis* that form a very integral part of it) and that perhaps it had before it the very words of Bharata quoted by us above. Another noteworthy fact in this connection is that Bharata nowhere alludes to the *Agnipurâṇa* in the extant *Nâṭyaśâstra*, although he shows an acquaintance with works of the Purâṇa class.[4]

II. The very nature of the contents of the *Agnipurâṇa* precludes the idea that it is an ancient and original work. Even a cursory examination reveals the fact that the *Agnipurâṇa* is a professed conglomeration of heterogeneous material borrowed from many sources, especially in that part of it which deals with the various branches of Sanskrit literature. On the other hand the *Nâṭyaśâstra* appears to be a very original work. Bharata speaks of only four figures of speech,[5] while the *Agnipurâṇa* mentions a large number. If Bharata had the *Agnipurâṇa* before him or if he had known more than four well-recognized figures of speech, he would have given a full exposition of them and would not have been held back by considerations of irrelevancy and prolixity. He defines and illustrates about a hundred different metres, which have as much connection with the dramatic art as figures of speech.

III. We shall later on adduce evidence to show that the *Nâṭyaśâstra* of Bharata must be at all events earlier than A.D. 500. From an examination of the contents of the *Agnipurâṇa*, it follows that it was put together later than A.D. 700 or even A.D. 1000. Our reasons are :—

(*a*) The *Agnipurâṇa* refers to the seven *Kâṇḍas* of the *Râmâyaṇa*, the *Harivaṁśa*, to *Pingala, Pâlakâpya, Sâlihôtra, Dhanvantari* and *Suśruta*. It gives a short summary of the *Bhagvatdgîtâ* in chapter 380, in which halves of verses[6] occurring in different chapters of the *Gîtâ* have been combined in one verse. One of the most significant facts for our purposes is that the *Agnipurâṇa* borrows from the *Amarakôśa* in chapters 359—366. Almost all the verses are directly taken from the *Amarakôśa* or are formed by taking half verses from the *Kôśa* and then piecing them together. If Amara borrowed at all he would do so

[2] *Bharatena praṇîtatvâd-Bhâratî rîtir-uchyate.*—*Agnipurâṇa* 339.6.

[3] *Mayâ kâvya-kriyâ-hetôh prakshiptâ druhiṇ-âjñayâ.*—*Nâṭyaśâstra* 20-23 ; again at 20-25 we read *Sva-nâmadheyair-bharataih prayuktâ sâ Bhâratî nâma bhavet-tu vṛittih* ॥

[4] *Anyeapi deśâ ebhyô ye Purâṇe saṁprakîrtitâḥ* । *teshu prayujyate hy-eshâ pravṛittis-tv-Auḍr Mâgadhî.*—*Nâṭya.* 13-35.

[5] *Kâvyasy-aite hy-alaṁkârâś-chatvârah pari-kîrtitâḥ.*—*Nâṭya.* 16-4.

[6] *Agni* 380-12 is the same as *Gîtâ* VI. 40 and VII. 14. *Na hi kalyâṇakrit kaśchid durgatim tâtâ gachchhati* । *Daivî hy-eshâ guṇamayî mama mâyâ duratyayâ* ॥

from works similar to his own, as he himself acknowledges in the words *saṁhṛity-ânya-tantrâṇi*, &c. It cannot be supposed that for a few of his *vargas* he fell back on the *Agnipurâṇa* and not on other *Kôśas*. The *Agnipurâṇa*, on the other hand, in its desire to include some account of every branch of Sanskrit literature would naturally draw upon the most famous *Kôśa* in its day, as it has drawn upon the *Gitâ*, the *Śikshâ* and other works. Therefore we may safely conclude that this portion of the *Agnipurâṇa* is taken from the *Amarakôśa*. Unfortunately scholars are not at one as to the date of *Amarasiṁha*. Max Müller arrived at the conclusion that Amara flourished about the beginning of the 6th century A.D. Prof. MacDonell (*History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 433) thinks it not improbable that the *Amarakôśa* was written about A.D. 500. Dr. Hoernle fixes the date between A.D. 625. and A. D. 940. (*JRAS* of Great Britain for 1906, p. 940) on the strength of the fact that Amara's meaning of the word *Aṁsa* is based upon the meaning of the word as given by Vâgbhaṭa. Taking even the earliest date assigned to Amara, *viz.*, 5th century A. D., we can at once assert that the *Agnipurâṇa* must be later than the *Amarakôśa* by some centuries. A period of two centuries would be absolutely necessary for Amara's work to come into general circulation and to be so highly esteemed as to be quoted by even orthodox writers. The *Agnipurâṇa* would not have gone out of its way to borrow from an unorthodox writer like *Amara*, if the latter's fame had not become world-wide in its day. Hence there is no objection in placing the *Agnipurâṇa* later than the 7th century A.D.

(*b*) The *Agnipurâṇa* and the *Nâṭyaśâstra* of Bharata have a number of verses in common with very slight variations that may have been due to the errors of scribes. We have said above that taking into consideration the nature of the two works, the greatest probability lies in the theory that the *Agnipurâṇa* copied from the *Nâṭyaśâstra*. Some of the striking common passages are :—*Nâṭya* VI. 39 and *Agni* 338. 7-8; *Nâṭya* VI, 36 and *Agni* 338. 12; *Nâṭya* 20. 28-29 and *Agni* 337. 11-12; *Nâṭya* 16.60-62 and *Agni* 342. 15-16.

(*c*) The definitions given by the *Agnipurâṇa* of *Sahôkti*, *Rûpaka*, *Utprekshâ*, *Viśeshôkti*, *Vibhâvanâ*, *Apahnuti* and *Samâdhi* (*Agni* 343. 23; 343. 24-25; 343. 26-27; 343. 27-28; 344. 18; 344. 13, respectively) are almost the same as those of Daṇḍin (*K. D.* II. 351; II. 66; II. 221; II. 323; II. 199; II. 304; I. 93.) Besides these, there are a number of verses and phrases which occur both in the *Agnipurâṇa* and the *Kâvyâdarśa*; e.g., *Padyaṁ chatushpadî tachcha vṛittaṁ jâtir-iti tridhâ.*—*Agni*. 336. 21 and *K. D.* I. 11; *Sâ vidyâ naus-titîrshûṇâṁ Gambhîraṁ kâvya-sâgaram.*—*Agni*. 336. 23 and *K. D.* I. 12; *Nagarârṇava-śailartuchandrârkâśrama-pâdapaiḥ* | *Udyânasalilakrîḍâmadhupânaratôtsavaiḥ*; *Agni*. 336. 29 and *K. D.* I. 16; *Itihâsa-kathôdbhûtam-itarad-vâ rasâśrayam.*—*Agni*. 336. 25 and *K. D.* I. 15. Daṇḍin almost everywhere gives his own examples and definitions. He mentions the *Bṛihatkathâ* and the *Setukâvya*, but nowhere alludes to the *Agnipurâṇa*. It is highly improbable that a writer like Daṇḍin should go a-begging to the *Agnipurâṇa* for stray verses and half-verses; while it is quite in keeping with the character of the *Agnipurâṇa* to borrow from Daṇḍin. We shall discuss in detail the date of Daṇḍin later on. He seems to have flourished about the 6th century A. D. If we admit that the *Agnipurâṇa* borrows from him, the former must be placed a century or two later than the 6th century A. D.

(*d*) The definitions of *Rûpaka*, *Âkshepa*, *Aprastutapraśaṁsâ*, *Paryâyôkta* and *Samâsôkti* are almost the same in Bhâmaha's work and the *Agnipurâṇa* (*Bhâmaha* II. 21 and *Agni* 343. 22; *Bhâmaha* II. 58 and *Agni* 344. 15; *Bhâmaha* III. 29 and *Agni* 344. 16; *Bhâmaha* III. 8 and *Agni* 344. 18; *Bhâmaha* II. 69 and *Agni* 344. 17 respectively)

Bhâmaha expressly says at the end of the 2nd Parichchheda that he gives his own examples only.[7] Hence we must suppose that the *Agnipurâṇa* borrows from Bhâmaha. Bhâmaha belongs to the 7th century A. D. The *Agnipurâṇa* must therefore be later than A. D. 700.

(*e*) The most remarkable fact however is that there are a number of verses in Bhôja's *Sarasvatîkaṇṭhâbharaṇa* which are also found in the *Agnipurâṇa*. We shall quote only a few out of many such verses. *Dhvanir-varṇâḥ padaṁ vâkyam-ity-etad vâñmayaṁ matam* (*Agni.* 336. 1 and *S. K.* 1st verse); *ye vyutpattyâdinâ śabdam-alaṁkartum-iha kshamâḥ* (*Agni.* 341. 18 and *S. K.* II. 2); *Uktipratyuktimad vâkyaṁ vâkôvâkyaṁ dvidhaiva tat* (*Agni.* 342. 32 and *S. K.* p. 293). *Karṇikâyâṁ likhed-ekaṁ dve dve dikshu vidikshu cha* | *pravesanirgamau dikshu kuryâd-ashṭa-chchhadesmbuje.*—(*Agni.* 342. 46 and *S. K.* p. 258). Besides these we may compare *Agni.* 341. 21 and 26 with *S. K.* pp. 154 and 157 (*S. K. Anyôktînâm-anukritiś-chhâyâ sâpîha shadvidhâ* &c., and S. K. :—*Sâbhiprâyasya vâkye yad vachasô vinivesanam* | *mudrâṁ tâṁ mut-pradâyi-tvât kâvyamudrâvidô viduḥ* respectively), and *Agni.* 342. 10-11 with *S. K.* p. 224 (*Kârṇâṭî Kauntalî Kauñkî Kauñkaṇî Bâṇavâsikâ*). It is possible that both Bhôja and the *Agnipurâṇa* may have drawn upon a common source. Bhôja quotes a very large number of verses without acknowledgments from Daṇḍin and other writers. So we cannot dogmatically say that the *Agnipurâṇa* borrowed from him. Still we think that it is not beyond the bounds of possibility to say that the *Agnipurâṇa* copies Bhôja's work.

Thus the internal evidence is against the theory that Bharata based his work on the *Agnipurâṇa*. The external evidence points in the same direction. It is as follows :—

The *Agnipurâṇa* is not referred to by any ancient rhetorician. Leaving aside Daṇḍin and Bhâmaha, Ânandavardhana and his voluminous commentator Abhinavagupta do not refer to it. Mammaṭa quotes the *Vishṇupurâṇa*, but nowhere the *Agnipurâṇa*. The first writer of note that distinctly mentions the *Agnipurâṇa* is Viśvanâtha, author of the *Sâhityadarpaṇa* (14th century A. D.). As regards the *Nâṭyaśâstra* of Bharata, the case is quite different. Every author of note from Ânandavardhana, Pratîhârendurâja, Abhinavagupta down to Jagannâtha quotes the dicta of Bharata with respect and even Daṇḍin and Bhâmaha seem to refer to him as we shall see later on. The conclusion that naturally follows is that the ancient writers on *Alaṁkâra* had no knowledge of the existence of the *Agnipurâṇa* or at least that part of it which deals with the *Alaṁkâra-Śâstra*. The great authority to which they all looked up with reverence was the *Nâṭyaśâstra*. Hence the claims put forward by later commentators on behalf of the *Agnipurâṇa* to be regarded as the original work on the *Alaṁkâra-Śâstra* are not at all justified.

Here a question may naturally be asked :—how was it that the *Agnipurâṇa* came to be looked upon as the most ancient work on the *Alaṁkâra-Śâstra* ? The following appears to us to be the proper reply. There is no doubt that the origin and development of the *Alaṁkâra-Śâstra* was due to such writers as Bharata, Bhâmaha and Daṇḍin. In the revival of Brahmanism that followed the decline of Buddhism, most of the extant *Purâṇas* took their present shape and in course of time rose in popular esteem. As they were associated with the name of Vyâsa, a halo of antiquity and sanctity was cast round them. The later commentators of works on *Alaṁkâra*, whose reverence for the *Purâṇas* far surpassed their respect for such writers as Daṇḍin and Bhâmaha naturally thought that the *Purâṇas* were very ancient and that they could not possibly have borrowed

[7] *Svayaṁ kṛitair-eva nidarśanair-iyaṁ mayâ prakḷiptâ khalu vâgalaṁkritiḥ* |

from such secular writers as Daṇḍin. We hope that the foregoing discussion has established that the *Agnipurâṇa* is not the original work on the *Alaṅkâraśâstra*, that it is later than A. D. 700 and that it is indebted to the writings of Bharata, Daṇḍin, Bhâmaha and possibly Bhôja.

The Nâṭyaśâstra of Bharata.

Bharata has a claim to be spoken of here for a twofold reason; firstly because he gives an elaborate account of the *rasas* which are of the essence of *Kâvya* and secondly because his work contains the earliest extant treatment of figures of speech.

Before proceeding further, it would not be out of place if we make a few remarks upon the Sanskrit drama in general. The origin of the Sanskrit drama, as that of many other branches of Sanskrit literature, is lost in the mists of antiquity. As far as our knowledge goes, the earliest and clearest reference to the dramatic art occurs in Pâṇini,[8] who mentions Śilâlin and Kṛiśâśva as authors of *Naṭasûtras*. An objection might be raised by sceptical critics that the two *sûtras* are spurious additions made later on. But it is not a sound one. Patañjali the author of the *Mahâbhâshya* takes these *sûtras* for granted and speaks of actors that had studied the *naṭasûtra* of Śilâlin.[9] As Pâṇini speaks of *naṭasûtras*, it follows as a matter of course that a number of dramas must have been composed prior to the *naṭasûtras*. It cannot be said that the rules on the dramatic art were first laid down and that then dramas were composed in consonance with them The canons of dramaturgy can be laid down only when a number of dramatic works already exist. Thus a very great dramatic activity appears to have preceded Pâṇini. There is a great divergence of opinion among scholars about the date of Pâṇini. Most scholars concede that Pâṇini did not at all events flourish later than 300 B. C. There are some who would place Pâṇini in the 7th or 8th century before Christ. We make bold to avow our adherence to this latter view. The dramatic works on which the *naṭasûtras* referred to by Pâṇini were based must therefore have been composed some centuries earlier than 300 B. C. at the latest. Nothing beyond their bare names is known of the *naṭasûtras* of Śilâlin and Kṛiśâśva, nor of the dramatic works on which they must have been founded. In the times of Patañjali (140 B. C.) dramatic representations appear to have been much in vogue. Patañjali alludes in a number of places to actors and dramatic performances. In one place Patañjali tells us that in his day the killing of the demon Kaṁsa and the humiliation of Bali were represented on the stage.[10] In another place he talks of the wives of actors appearing on the stage and declaring themselves as belonging to him who accosts them.[11] Although the drama thus flourished in the centuries preceding the Christian era, the Sanskrit drama appears to have had a struggle for existence. Considering the exuberant growth of almost every branch of Sanskrit literature, the number of Sanskrit dramas that have come down to us appears very small indeed. A large number

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[8] Mark the following sûtras :—*Pârâśarya-silâlibhyâṁ bhikshu-naṭasûtrayôḥ* and *Karmanda-kṛiśâśvâd-inih.* (*Pâṇini* IV. 3. 110-111.)

[9] See *Mahâbhâshya*, Vol. II, p. 286. *Pârâśariṇô bhikshavaḥ śailâlinô naṭâḥ*.

[10] *Iha tu kathaṁ vartamâna-kâlatâ Kaṁsaṁ ghâtayati Baliṁ bandhayati-iti chirahate kaṁse chirabaddhe cha Balau | Atrâpi yuktâ | katham | ye tâvad-ete śôbhanikâ nâma ete pratyaksham kaṁsaṁ ghâtayanti pratyakshaṁ cha Baliṁ bandhayanti-iti | Mahâbhâshya* (Kielhorn), Vol. II, p. 36. On the word *śôbhanikâ*, Kaiyyaṭa remarks (he reads *Śaubhikâ*) *Śaubhikâ iti | kaṁsâdy-anukâriṇâm naṭânâṁ vyâkhyânôpâ-dhyâyâḥ | kaṁsânukâri naṭaḥ sâmâjikaiḥ kaṁsabuddhyâ gṛihîtaḥ kaṁsô bhâshye vivakshitaḥ |*

[11] *Naṭânâṁ striyô raṅgaṁ gatâ yô yaḥ prichchhati kasya yûyaṁ kasya yûyam-iti taṁ taṁ tava tava ity-âhuḥ. | Mahâbhâshya*, Vol. III, p. 7.

of Sanskrit dramas are mentioned by the *Daśarûpakâvalôka* and by the *Sâhityadarpaṇa*, many of which are known to us only by their names. The dramas that survive are only a few of the masterpieces which people cared to preserve. It seems that time proved too much even for dramatists of the highest order of merit. In this connection may be noted the case of Bhâsa, who kindled the admiration of even Kâlidâsa[12] and won the encomiums of a great writer like Bâṇa.[13] None of his dramatic works (Bâṇa, it should be observed, uses the plural 'Nâtakaiḥ') was extant till a few years ago and what remained of the dramatic genius of Bhâsa was a few verses quoted as his in anthologies.[14] Scholars are divided in opinion as to the authorship of the dramas recently published by Mr. Ganapatiśâstri as Bhâsa's. This is not the place to enter into that question.

Among the extant works on the dramatic art, the *Nâṭyaśâstra* of Bharata, the *Daśarûpaka* of Dhanañjaya and the *Sâhityadarpaṇa* of Viśvanâtha are the most widely known and most often quoted. Of these three, the work of Bharata is by far the most ancient and highly honoured. The complete work has been issued by the enterprising proprietor of the Nirnayasagara Press, Bombay. It is beyond the scope of the present article to enter upon a minute and critical examination of the text of the work. Still, we cannot help saying that a critical edition of the *Nâṭyaśâstra*, embodying the results of a patient investigation into all the works on poetics and dramaturgy that quote Bharata and into the numerous commentaries on the extant dramas, is a great *desideratum*.

The printed *Nâṭyaśâstra* has 37 chapters and contains about 5000 verses (mostly in the *slôka* metre) interspersed with a few passages in prose here and there. The author Bharata appears to be a semi-divine person having access even to the gods. The work is said to be the fifth Veda[15] and to have been received by Bharata from Brahmâ. The work is of an encyclopædic character. It is not possible to give a summary of the work here. The chapters that most interest us from our present point of view are the sixth and seventh which treat of *rasas* and *bhâvas* respectively and the 16th. In the latter, after speaking of 26 points in connection with poetry, the author defines and illustrates four figures of speech, *Upamâ*, *Rûpaka*, *Dîpaka* and *Yamaka*. All the examples are his own. Then the ten blemishes of *Kâvya* and the ten *Guṇas* of it such as *Ślesha* (the names are the same as those in the *Kâvyâdarśa* I. 41) are defined. The chapter winds up with a statement as to what particular metres or letters (*hrasva*, *dîrgha*, *pluta*, &c.) should be employed in connection with the several *rasas*.

The date of the Natyasastra.

At the outset it is necessary to remove a possible misunderstanding about the date of Bharata. It may be plausibly urged that, as Bharata is not mentioned by Pâṇini, the former is later than the latter. It must, however, be borne in mind that Pâṇini was not

[12] *Prathita-yaśasâṁ Bhâsa-kavi-saumilla-kavi-miśrâdînâṁ prabandhân-atikramya kathaṁ vartamâna-kaveh Kâlidâsasya kriyâyâṁ parishadô bahumânaḥ* I *Mâlavikâgnimitra I.*

[13] *Sûtradhârakritârambhair nâṭakair bahubhûmikaiḥ* I *Supatâkair yaśô lebhe Bhâsô devakulair-iva.*—Introduction to *Harshacharita*.

[14] A similar but far more remarkable fate overtook a grammatical work, the *Saṁgraha* of Vyâḍi. It existed in the days of Patañjali, who alludes to it as an authority. *Saṁgrahe prâdhânyena etat parîkshitaṁ.*—*Mahâbhâshya*, Vol. I, p. 6. But in the days of the *Vâkyapadîya* (about A. D. 500), the *Saṁgraha* had ceased to exist. *Prâyena saṁkshepa-ruchîn-alpavidyâparigrahân* I *Saṁprâpya vaiyâkaraṇân saṁgrahe 'stam-upâgate.*—*Vâkyapadîya* II. 484.

[15] See *Nâṭyaśâstra* I. 15. *Nâṭyâkhyaṁ pañchamaṁ vedaṁ setihâsaṁ karomy-aham.*

writing a history of Sanskrit literature. If he mentions any word, he does so simply because he regards it as noteworthy from the grammarian's point of view. The tendency to jump from the mere non-mention of a writer by another to chronological conclusions about them has been a frequent and fruitful source of error. We wish to enter our protest against this tendency. The mere circumstance that Bharata is not referred to as a writer on dramaturgy by Pâṇini is not at all sufficient to place Bharata later than Pâṇini. We must adduce independent and positive evidence to prove the posteriority of Bharata to Pâṇini. We do not mean to say, however, that the extant *Nâṭyaśâstra* is as old as the *Sûtrakâras* mentioned by Pâṇini. There are certain indications in the *Nâṭyaśâstra* itself that point to an opposite conclusion. It often quotes verses in the *Âryâ* metre with the remark *Atra Sûtrânubaddhe Âryâ bhavataḥ* (on this point there are two Âryâs composed in conformity with a *Sûtra*). This we interpret to mean that the extant *Nâṭyaśâstra* was preceded by works on dramaturgy which were themselves based upon older *sûtra* writings.

We shall now pass on to the consideration of the evidence establishing the date of the *Nâṭyaśâstra.*

1. The *Daśarûpaka* of Dhanañjaya is a well-known treatise on dramaturgy. The author tells us that he composed the work at the court of Muñja This Muñja is most probably the same as the uncle of the Paramâra king, Bhôja. If this be so, the *Daśarûpaka* must have been composed before A. D. 1000. Dhana jaya says at the beginning of his work that Brahmâ took the essence of the Vedas and composed the *Nâṭyaśâstra* and that Bharata gave a performance in accordance with it.[16] This makes it clear that the author of the *Daśarûpaka* was quite familiar with the traditional origin of the *Nâṭyaśâstra* as contained in the latter[17] and that he looked upon Bharata as a semi-divine sage belonging to those far-off times when men had free access to the gods. Hence it follows that Bharata's work must have been written (not necessarily in the form in which we have it now) a number of centuries before A. D. 1000.

2. Abhinavagupta, author of the *Lôchana,* a comment on the *Dhvanyâlôka,* calls Bharata a very ancient sage and says that *Yamaka* and *Upamâ* were regarded by him as figures of word and sense respectively.[18] *Yamaka* and *Upamâ* are treated of in the 16th chapter of the extant *Nâṭyaśâstra.* Râghavabhaṭṭa, the learned author of a commentary entitled *Arthadyôtanikâ* on the *Śâkuntala,* quotes at every step Bharata's dicta and oftentimes names the very chapters in which the verses occur. A careful examination of his commentary would yield very valuable material for settling the text of the *Nâṭyaśâstra.* He tells us[19] that Abhinavagupta composed a commentary called *Abhinavabhârati* on the *Nâṭyaśâstra* of Bharata. It should be noted that Abhinavagupta does not speak of Daṇḍin (6th century) or Bhâmaha (A. D. 700) as *chirantana* or as a *muni.* A

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16 *Uddhṛity-ôddhṛitya sâraṁ yamakhila-nigamân-nâṭyavedaṁ Viriñchis-chakre yasya prayôgaṁ munir-api Bharatas-tâṇḍavaṁ Nilakaṇṭhaḥ* ।

17 See *Nâṭyaśâstra* I. 1-4 and 11-16.

18 *Chirantanair-hi Bharatamuniprabhṛitibhir Yamakôpame śabdârthâlaṁkâratven-eshṭe.—Dhvanyâlôkalôchana,* p. 5

19 P. 6 (Nirṇayasâgara, 3rd edition.) *Idaṁ padyam Abhinavaguptapâdâchâryair-Bharataṭîkâyâm-Abhinavabhâratyâṁ vyâkhyâtam.* The verse referred to is *Sûtradhâraḥ paṭhen-nândîm* (*Nâṭyaśâstra* V. 98). On p. 20 o' the above edition, Râghavabhaṭṭa quotes a long passage rom the *Nâṭyaśâstra,* 16th chapter and remarks *Abhinavabhâratyâṁ Bharataṭîkâyâm-Abhinavaguptâchâryair mahatâprabandhena bhinnatayâ sthâpitâni.*

large number of centuries must have intervened between Bharata and Abhinavagupta to make the latter look upon the former with so much reverence. Abhinavagupta wrote his *Kramastôtra* in A. D. 991 and his *Brihatpratyabhijñâvimarshinî* in A. D. 1015.

3. Rudrabhaṭṭa wrote a work called *Sriñgâratilaka* in which he says, 'Bharata and others have spoken about *rasas* in connection with dramaturgy; I shall treat of them as far as my light goes in connection with poetry.'[20] In the 6th chapter of the extant *Nâṭyaśâstra* there is an elaborate disquisition on the *rasas*. Quotations are taken from Rudrabhaṭṭa by Bhôja, Mammaṭa and others. If Rudrabhaṭṭa be identical with Rudraṭa, the author of *Kâvyâlaṁkâra*, then the *Sriñgâratilaka* was composed earlier than A. D. 900. Pratîhârendurâja (A. D. 925) and Abhinavagupta (A. D. 960—1020) take a number of verses from Rudraṭa. Hence it follows that before A. D. 900 there existed a work going under the name of Bharata which contained a full exposition of the *rasas*.

4. Ânandavardhana, author of *Dhvanyâlôka*, a standard work on *Sâhitya*, often refers to Bharata's works. In one place he says that the *Vrittis Kaiśiki*, &c., are well known from the works of Bharata.[21] In another place he remarks that the author of the *Veṇisaṁhâra*, out of a slavish adherence to Bharata's rules, exhibits in his drama an *aṅga* called *vilâsa* of the *pratimukhasaṁdhi*, though it is unfavourable to the development of the *rasa* intended.[22] Ânandavardhana flourished under Avantivarman of Kâshmir[23] (A. D 855—883). Before him the *Veṇîsaṁhâra* was composed and the author of the latter. according to Ânandavardhana, regarded Bharata as a paramount authority in the domain of dramaturgy. Ânandavardhana thus shows us that Bharata's work contained in his day (and for the matter of that, even before the *Veṇisaṁhâra*) a treatment of the *saṁdhis* and their *aṅgas*. The *aṅga* called *vilâsa* is referred to in the *Nâṭyaśâstra* (19-71).

5. Mammaṭa quotes in his *Kâvyaprakâśa* as from *Bharata* the words *Vibhâvânubhâva vyabhichârisaṁyôgâd rasanishpattiḥ*.[24] These words occur in the extant *Nâṭyaśâstra* in the 6th chapter p. 62. Mammaṭa quotes the different views of Lôllaṭa, Sankuka, Bhaṭṭanâyaka and Abhinavaguptapâda on the above *sûtra* of Bharata. We saw above that Abhinavagupta was living in A. D. 1015. He strongly criticizes Bhaṭṭanâyaka in his commentary on the *Dhvanyâlôka* (see pp. 19, 21, 33, 63, &c.). His criticisms leave an impression on the mind that Bhaṭṭanâyaka's memory was quite fresh in Abhinavagupta's day. The *Râjataraṅgiṇî*[25] tells us that there was a learned Brâhman named Nâyaka at the court of Sankaravarman, who was the son of Avantivarman and came to the throne in A. D. 883. From this it seems probable that Nâyaka flourished about A. D. 900. The *Râjataraṅgiṇî* tells us that Sankuka wrote a poem called *Bhuvanâbhyudaya* and lived in the reign of Ajitâpîḍa who died in A. D. 813.[26] Thus Sankuka flourished about A. D. 800. We thus see that Sañkuka, Nâyaka and Abhinavagupta are arranged in chronological

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20 *Prâyô Nâṭyaṁ prati prôktâ Bharatâdyai rasasthitiḥ | Yathâmati mayâpy-eshâ kâvyaṁ prati nigadyate.—Sringâra* I. 5.

21 *Yadi vâ vrittinâṁ Bharataprasiddhânâṁ Kaiśikyâdînâm* | *Dhvanyâlôka*, p. 163. These *Vrittis* are referred to in the *Nâṭyaśâstra* (VI. 25.).

22 *Yathâ Veṇîsaṁhâre vilâsâkhyasya pratimukhasaṁdhyañgasya prakritarasanibandhanânanuguṇamapi ...Bharatamatânusaraṇamâtrechchhayâ ghaṭanam.—Dhvanyâlôka*, p. 150.

23 *Muktâkaṇaḥ Śivasvâmî Kavir-Ânandavardhanaḥ* | *Prathâṁ Ratnâkaraś-châgât sâmrâjye Svantivarmaṇaḥ* || *Râjataraṅgiṇî* V. 34.

24 *See* p. 84 of the *Kâvyaprakâśa* (*ed. Vâmanâchârya*).

25 *Dvijas-tayôr-Nâyakâkhyô Gaurî-Śaṁkara-sadmanôḥ* | *Châturvidyaḥ kritas-tena Vâgdevî-kulamandiram.—Râjataraṅgiṇî.* V. 163.

26 *Kavir-budhamanassindhu-śaśâṅkaḥ Śaṅkukâbhidhaḥ* | *Yam-uddiśy-âkarôt kâvyaṁ Bhuvanâbhyudayâbhidham* ||. *Râja.* IV. 705.

order by Mammaṭa. It would not be quite wrong to suppose that Bhaṭṭa Lôllaṭa whose views are put first by Mammaṭa was also the first known commentator of the *Nâṭyaśâstra* in Mammaṭa's day. We shall not be wrong in assigning Lôllaṭa to about A. D. 700. Thus from the 8th century downwards we have a succession of commentators on the *Nâṭyaśâstra*. It naturally follows that the work must have been composed long before the 8th century.

6. Dâmôdaragupta, in his *Kuṭṭanîmata*, in a number of places refers to Bharata as a writer on dancing and speaks of the *Nâṭyaśâstra* as composed by Brahmâ.[27] Dâmôdaragupta was a minister under Jayâpîḍa[28] (A. D. 745—776).

7. Mâgha says in one place 'like dramatic works the acts of which contain poetry composed by a poet familiar with Bharata'.[29] As Mâgha is quoted by Ânandavardhana (9th century) and by Vâmana[30] (about A. D. 800), he cannot be placed later than A. D. 750. Before this date dramas existed, which according to Mâgha, followed Bharata's rules on dramaturgy. So a long time before A. D. 750 a *Nâṭyaśâstra* by Bharata was in existence.

8. Bhâmaha (first half of 8th century) seems to refer to Bharata's *Nâṭyaśâstra* in a number of places. In one place he says, '*Nâṭaka*, &c., have been treated of at length by others.'[31] In another place he remarks: 'Others enumerate only five figures of speech, viz., *Anuprâsa* with *Yamaka, Rûpaka, Dîpaka* and *Upamâ*.'[32] It should be noted that of all extant works on the *Alaṁkâra-Śâstra*, it is the *Nâṭyaśâstra* alone that speaks of such a small number of figures of speech. It is true that Bharata speaks of only four and omits *Anuprâsa*. But all the other figures are the same and *Anuprâsa* may be supposed to have been omitted by Bharata on account of its close similarity to *Yamaka*. In another place Bhâmaha criticizes those who divide *Upamâ* into three varieties, *Praśaṁsâ, Nindâ* and *Sâdṛiśya*.[33] Bharata speaks of five varieties of *Upamâ*, viz., the above three and two more *Kalpitâ* and *kiñchit-sadṛiśî*.[34]

9. Bhavabhûti in his *Uttararâmacharita* refers to Bharata as the writer of a *sûtra* work on *Tauryatrika*, i. e., *Nâṭya*.[35] Bhavabhûti, it is well-known, was patronized by Yaśôvarman and flourished, according to Dr. Bhandarkar, at the end of the 7th century (Preface to Mâlatîmâdhava, p. x). Mr. V. A. Smith gives A. D. 728 as the date of the accession of Yaśôvarman (*JRAS* of Great Britain for 1908, p. 793). He looks upon Bharata as a contemporary of Vâlmîki, the first poet who received his poetic fire from Brahmâ himself.

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[27] *Brahmôkta-Nâṭyaśâstre gîte murajâdivâdane chaiva | Abhibhavati Nâradâdîn prâvîṇyam Bhaṭṭaputrasya.—Kuṭṭanîmatam* verse 75; *Bharata-Viśâkhila-Dantila-vṛikshâyurveda-chitrasûtreshu* | Verse 123; see also verse 81 in which Kôhala is associated with Bharata.

[28] *Sa Dâmôdaraguptâkhyaṁ Kuṭṭanîmata-kâriṇam | Kaviṁ Kaviṁ Balir-iva dhuryaṁ dhîsachivaṁ vyadhât.—Râja.* IV. 496.

[29] *Bharatajña-kavi-praṇîta-kâvya-grathitâṅkâ iva nâṭakaprapañchâḥ.—Śiśupâlavadha.* 20. 44.

[30] The verse *Trâsâkulaḥ paripatan paritô niketân*, &c., quoted by *Dhvanyâlôka*, p. 144, is *Śiśupâlavadha* V. 26 and the verse *Ubhau yadi vyômni*, &c., quoted by Vâmana under *Atiśayôkti* (IV. 3. 10) is *Śiśupâlavadha* III. 8.

[31] *Nâṭakaṁ Dvipadî Śamyâ Râsaka-Skandhakâdi yat | Uktaṁ tad-abhineyârtham-uktô'nyais-tasya vistaraḥ || Bhâmaha*, I. 24.

[32] *Anuprâsaḥ sayamakô Rûpakaṁ Dîpakôpame | Iti vâchâm-alaṁkârâḥ pañchaivânyair-udâhṛitâḥ.—Bhâmaha*, II. 4.

[33] *Yaduktaṁ triprakâratvaṁ tasyâḥ kaiśchin-mahâtmabhiḥ | Nindâ-praśaṁsâ-sâdṛiśyabhedâd-atrâbhidhîyate.—Bhâmaha*, II. 27.

[34] *Nâṭyaśâstra*, 16. 48.

[35] *Uttararâma* 4th act. *Taṁ cha svahasta-likhitaṁ munir bhagavân vyasṛjad-Bharatasya munes-tauryatrikasûtrakârasya.*

10. Bâṇa gives a list of the arts and sciences in which prince Chandrâpîḍa attained proficiency. At the head of the list figures the *Nâṭyaśâstra* of Bharata.[36] A very long period of time must have intervened between the the composition of Bharata's work and Bâṇa before the latter could look upon the study of the former as a *sine qua non* in the education of a prince.

11. Daṇḍin in his *Kâvyâdarśa* refers to a work on dramaturgy in the words 'Nâṭaka and others are treated of at length elsewhere.'[37] In another place he says that what are called *saṁdhyaṅga* (*aṅgas* of the five *saṁdhis*) and *Vṛittyaṅga* in another *śâstra* (*âgama*) are looked upon by us as *alaṁkâras*.[38] The five saṁdhis and their *aṅgas* are spoken of in the 19th chapter of the extant *Nâṭyaśâstra* and the *Vṛittis* in the 20th chapter. In the present state of our knowledge we must conclude that the work referred to by Daṇḍin is none else but the *Nâṭyaśâstra* of Bharata. We shall see later on that Daṇḍin flourished about the 6th century A. D.

12. Kâlidâsa has a very pointed reference to Bharata in the *Vikramôrvaśiya*. 'The Lord of gods, together with the guardians of the worlds, has a mind to see that performance containing the eight *rasas*, which has been entrusted to you (the *Apsarases*) by the sage Bharata and which will be rendered with fine acting.'[39] There are three points here that deserve special attention; firstly, Bharata is spoken of as a *Nâṭyâchârya*; secondly it is said that the business of a drama is to evolve the eight *rasas*; and thirdly, the Apsarases are said to be the actors who help Bharata to bring a play on the stage. All these three are found in the extant *Nâṭyaśâstra*. In it also, Bharata is said to be the *Nâṭyâchârya* of the gods, the *rasas* are said to be eight,[40] and the *Apsarases* are said to have helped Bharata.[41] It is noteworthy that to Kâlidâsa also Bharata is a semi-divine sage. Bharata must have been placed by tradition a number of centuries before Kâlidâsa in the latter's day. It seems to us not unlikely that Kâlidâsa had before him some work of Bharata. The date of Kâlidâsa is yet far from being settled. He is certainly much earlier than the Aihoḷe inscription (A. D. 634) in which he is highly praised along with Bhâravi. He is also earlier than A. D. 472, the date of the *Mandasor Inscription*[42] the author of which shows his great familiarity with Kâlidâsa. If Kâlidâsa is thus earlier than the 5th century A. D., Bharata must be older still by a number of centuries.

13. Every ancient writer from Bhaṭṭi (somewhere between A. D. 500—650), Daṇḍin (6th century), Bhâmaha (A. D. 750), to Vâmana and Udbhaṭa (latter half of 8th century) mentions more than thirty figures of speech. It is Bharata who speaks of only four figures. We have said above that Bharata would not have scrupled to give a more elaborate treatment and a larger number of figures if he had known them. For this reason also, he must be placed a number of centuries before Bhaṭṭi and Daṇḍin.

[36] *Bharatâdipraṇîteshu nṛityaśâstreshu.—Kâdambarî*, p. 75 (ed. Dr. Peterson).

[37] *Miśrâṇi Nâṭakâdini teshâm-anyatra vistaraḥ | Kâvyâdarśa* I. 31.

[38] *Yachcha saṁdhyaṅga-vṛittyaṅga-lakshaṇâdy-âgamântare | Vyâvarṇitam-idaṁ cheshṭam-alaṁkâratayaiva naḥ.—Kâvyâdarśa* II. 367.

[39] *Muninâ Bharatena yaḥ prayôgô bhavatîshv-ashṭarasâśrayô niyuktaḥ | lalitâbhinayaṁ tam-adya bhartâ marutâṁ drashṭumanâḥ salôkapâlaḥ* || 1st act.

[40] See *Nâṭyaśâstra*, VI. 15.

[41] *Apsarôbhir-idaṁ sârdhaṁ krîḍanîyaika-hetukam | Adhishṭhitaṁ mayâ svarge svâtinâ Nâradena cha | Nâṭyaśâstra* 37. 19.

[42] See Dr. Fleet's *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III, p. 79 ff.

In the foregoing discussion, we hope we have advanced cogent arguments for asserting that the *Nâṭyaśâstra* of Bharata was composed not later than the 5th century A. D. If it be conceded that Kâlidâsa had in mind the work of Bharata, then the latter must have been composed at the beginning of the Christian era, if not earlier. We do not mean to assert that the *Nâṭyaśâstra* as composed by Bharata has come down to us intact. We are quite prepared to admit that interpolations may have been inserted from time to time. What we contend for is that the main outlines of the work were just the same about the 7th century as they are now. We have seen that comparatively ancient writers like Ânandavardhana, Rudraṭa and Abhinavagupta refer to particular portions of the *Nâṭyaśâstra*. We see that Abhinavagupta regarded Bharata as a very ancient sage and that according to him Bharata spoke of the two figures, Yamaka and Upamā. It has been our endeavour to establish that the *Nâṭyaśâstra* of Bharata is at all events older than A. D. 500. There is no other extant work on the *Alaṁkâraśâstra* that can be placed before A. D. 500. We may therefore provisionally regard that the *Nâṭyaśâstra* of Bharata contains the oldest extant treatment of *Alaṁkâras*.

THE HISTORY OF THE NAIK KINGDOM OF MADURA.

BY V. RANGACHARI, M.A., L.T.,; MADRAS.

(*Continued from p.* 163.)

So ended the Tanjore war; and the two powers became not only tacit observers of peace, but positive allies, offensive and defensive. In the enthusiasm of their new alliance, they even prepared for war with a third power. The Râja of Mysore had just constructed a dam across the Kâveri and caused thereby untold hardship to the people of the Tanjore and Trichinopoly kingdoms. Cultivation had to be suspended, and the grim prospect of famine loomed large in the horizon. The two powers therefore at once resolved to send a joint expedition against Mysore. But fortunately at this crisis, Providence intervened and averted the war. A timely flood[50] of the river swept away the Mysore dam and furnished the parched kingdoms with water, copious enough for irrigation.

The Successful revolt of the Sêtupati. 1702.

The last military undertaking of Maṅgammâḷ (1702) was against the turbulent Marava chieftain, Raghunâtha Sêtupati,[51] whose policy of persecution we have already seen. The arms of Madura were not attended with the accustomed success in this war. The loosely combined mercenaries of the Nâik army could hardly prevail against a people who, owing to their community of race, language, religion and interests, had a strong sentiment of national solidarity. The war in consequence resulted, in spite of the assistance which Tanjore rendered on this occasion, in a serious diminution of the prestige of Madura. The great general, Narasappaiya himself, fell in battle, and the confederates were driven in disgrace into their kingdom. Tanjore suffered more. The brunt of the war fell specially on the South and Eastern districts of that kingdom which were devastated with fire and sword by the exultant Maravas.

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50 See E. G. Buchanan, I, p. 427, where he describes a dam built by "Cavery Cada Râya, one of the family of Chika Dêva Râja of Mysore" at Naringapetta. It is. of course, not at all certain that this dam is the intended one.

51 In 1700, one Daḷavâi Sêtupati repaired the Śiva temple at Tirumôkûr, 6 miles north of Madura. He was evidently a general of Raghunâtha and then in friendly terms with the Central Government. See *Antiquities*, I, p. 295. The war presumably took place after this.

The tragic and mysterious death of Mangamma.

It is an irony of fate that a ruler, who did so much for her country and was so popular with her subjects, ended her life, if we are to believe tradition (no MSS. mention it), under circumstances of a most tragical character. In the year 1706, Vijaya Raṅga Chokkanâtha attained his majority, and had to be invested with the royal power; but Maṅgammâḷ was unwilling to part with it. A historian, whose views are of a most unreliable nature, says that the queen was in guilty intimacy with a singer, that the Prince Vijaya Raṅga Chokkanâtha flogged him; that the queen kept him in consequence in prison for three years; that he, however, successfully intrigued with the officers of the army, effected his escape by means of a rope ladder, proceeded to the temple, and crowned himself: and that though Maṅgammâḷ feigned satisfaction and pretended to welcome the new *regime*, the prince put her in prison, where she remained, till her death, for 40 days.[52] The imperious voice of tradition imputes to her a guilty motive, inspired by her friendship and alleged love for her minister Achchaya. An enquiry into the conditions of the time, however, would seem to warrant the supposition that she was actuated by honest intentions in refusing to entrust Vijaya Raṅga with the burdens and responsibilities of royalty. As we shall see later on, Vijaya Raṅga acquitted himself, during his reign of 27 years, so badly that he became notorious as a foolish, unjust and feeble spendthrift. Maṅgammâḷ and her minister seem to have formed a true estimate of his character and abilities, and honestly felt that it would be better for the kingdom if Vijaya Raṅga assumed the reins of government after some more experience in statecraft. The queen's hesitation was thus, in all probability, due to her regard for the people; but her attitude was mistaken for ambition, and her confidence in her minister declared by the voice of scandal to be an unrighteous and criminal intimacy. A strong and formidable party arose, in consequence, against them and did not hesitate to stain their hands with her blood. Inspired more by brute force than by gratitude, they seized her by treacherous means and condemned her to a prisoner's life in her own palace, the building which is now occupied by the Taluk and other offices. There she had to expiate her alleged treason and greed by a cruel and ignominious death. She was slowly starved, her distress being enhanced by the frequent placing of food outside her prison at such a distance that she could see and smell it, but not reach it. To be practically within life's necessity and yet brutally debarred from its touch and enjoyment, was a tantalising penalty hardly deserved by a true philanthropist and benefactor of mankind.

Such was the fate of the celebrated queen whose guilt was, to judge from the entire circumstances of the case, most probably a simple act of indiscretion. That she was tactless may be conceded; but her treason or ambition is yet to be proved. There are no sufficient evidences to prove that her conduct was such as to provoke universal discontent or popular indignation. The author of the *Madura Gazetteer* evidently believes in the truth of the stories of her guilty love. A "slight confirmation of the tradition," he says, "is derived

[52] One account says that Maṅgammâḷ was queen till 1712. Muthiah's account on which Wilson bases his, says that when the prince was 13 years old, the Daḷavâi Kastûri Raṅga organized a revolt, put the queen in prison, and seized the reins of government. Maṅgammâḷ soon died in the prison (*J R A S* III, 234). The latest inscription in her name is dated 1706 (S. 1628, *Vyaya*) "during the reign of Veṅkaṭadêva Râya at Ghânagiri," *Antiquities*, II, p. 17). Inscription 494 of 1907, dated S. 1626 (Târaṇa), recording the construction of a shrine by a Brahman in her regency, at Uyyakkoṇḍân channel, is of course earlier.

from the facts that in the little chapel built by Maṅgammâḷ on the west side of the 'golden lily tank' in the Madura temple is a statue of a young man who is declared to be her minister and paramour, and that in a picture on the ceiling of the chapel is a portrait of the same person opposite to one of the queen, who (be it noted) is dressed, not as an orthodox Hindu widow should be, but in jewels and finery appropriate only to a married woman."[53] The confirmation afforded by these is slight indeed. The appearance of the minister by the side of the queen is no proof of unlawful intimacy, nor is there anything uncommon in a royal lady, though a widow, adorning her person. Public appearance necessarily demanded a decency in keeping with her station. The true cause and excuse of Mangammâḷ's death, therefore, is, and is ever likely to be, a mystery.

And she has lived, and will live, in history. Throughout the wide kingdom of Madura the great queen has left her undying monuments. Her roads and avenues have afforded happiness to travellers and her choultries shelter and food to pilgrims without number for the past two centuries. Distant corners, unfrequented regions, have celebrated her name and cherished her memory. Even to-day the lone and solitary wanderer whom the love of antiquity draws to the western parts of the Tinnevelly district, so far from the seat of the noble queen's government, will notice the most illiterate man blessing the name of the great good woman who made that winding road at the sight of the hills, that planted those tall majestic trees and that built those welcome bowers which give shade and water to his exhausted and sun-struck person. Even to-day he will find her choultries and rest-houses as at Sôḷavandân[54] and at Madura playing their parts of service, though under different management and under different ideals of charity and benevolence. Even to-day he will find her the theme of simple anecdotes and amiable remembrance in holy places of pilgrimage. At Paḻni,[55] for instance, the very steps by which she once went to the temple are remembered and have been perpetuated by an anecdote. It is said that while she was going up the flight of steps leading to the Daṇḍâyudhapâṇi shrine, "she came upon a young man who, perceiving her, retreated in confusion. She called out graciously to him '*Irunkol!*' or 'Pray wait!' and he and his sons' sons thereafter always took this word as their name." But while posterity has revered and loved her memory the actual place where she underwent her tragic end is in ruins. On the site which her palace once occupied has now been built the central market of Madura[56]; and of her residence and its environments nothing now remains but the small Mâriamman's shrine near the southern entrance to the market, the compound wall at the northern side, and a few huge, well polished black-stone pillars similar to those in Tirumal Nâyak's palace, in the north-eastern corner. The artistic excellence of the edifices is proved by the excellent patterns of the still existing perforated stucco windows and the well-carved wooden doorways in the west, which have defied time. And with regard[57] to her foul murderers the story runs that, owing to her curse, their descendants, nay the very caste to which they belonged, have sunk in obscurity and been unable to rise to any position of trust or dignity in the State.

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53 *Madura Gazr.*, p. 55.

54 See *Madura Gazr.*, p. 157-8 and 291, for the history of these choultries.

55 *Ibid*, p. 305.

56 *Arch. Rep.*, 1910-11, pp. 16-17. Moore in his *Trichinopoly Manual*, however, points out that a small room near the large hall in the Nawab's palace, called Maṅgammâḷ's Hall, is generally pointed out as the place of her death.

57 Oral tradition.

Vijaya Raṅga Chokkanâtha.

SECTION II.

Personal Rule (1706-1731.)

The death of Maṅgammâḷ paved[58] the way for the actual exercise of sovereign power by Vijaya Raṅga Chokkanâtha. The character of this monarch is simply and easily described. Throughout his long reign of 26 years (for he ruled till 1731), he shewed[59] himself, by his conduct, an exceedingly pious and god-fearing man. In fact he led the life of a saint, of a pilgrim, rather than that of a king. His mind was always occupied in the efficient observance of religious ritual and the speedy propagation of the religious spirit. Caring solely for the applause of the clergy by whom he was surrounded, he spent every moment of his life and every penny of his revenues in indulging their desires and furthering their interests. A Telugu chronicle observes that it was his custom to set out every two years, on an extensive religious tour, throughout his kingdom. He would in the course of the tour, visit the shrines of Śrîraṅgam, Jambûkêśvaram, Madura, Tinnevelly, Aḷvâr Tirunagiri, Śrî Vaikuṇṭham, etc. On these occasions the pious monarch would expend, with a reckless extravagance, immense sums for the increased offerings and anointings of the images. The priests of many a rich temple who understood the real character of the king practised deception and found means to fill their already full coffers. They would set aside the silken robes and the costly ornaments[60] of the shrine and substitute in their place plain white clothes and other semblances of poverty. The plates and charters of previous royal endowments would be carefully hidden, and a small number of faintly flickering lights would be kept burning at the altar. The king on seeing these miserable provisions invariably bestowed, without the least enquiry into the past history or the present resources of the shrine, numerous vestments and monetary gifts of the value of 2,000 or 3,000 *madais*, amounting to 1,000 or 1,500 star pagodas. In this manner every tour of the king absorbed lakhs of rupees of the revenue. The extravagance of donations was repeated during every tour; for the king, with an extraordinary pride and singular notion of charities, deprecated all inquiry into past gifts on the ground that such an enquiry would destroy the spiritual fruits of the gifts themselves. To those men of business and of sense

[58] Nelson points out that there are no Jesuit letters to illustrate this reign. We have to depend solely on Chronicles and the meagre and secondary evidence of English historians.

[59] An inscription of his, dated 1710, is in the eastern Gôpura of Madura. Further epigraphs in his name dated 1716, 1724, 1727, 1729, and 1731 are given by Sewell. Two of these are grants to Durga and Śiva temples; but the deeds are always engraved with Vaishṇava figures. A curious fact to be noticed is that an alleged suzerain Râya is always given. Inscription 697 of 1909 records a grant of his in 1728 (*Ep. Rep.*, 1909, p. 59).

[60] For an interesting account of a few of the jewels given by Vijaya Raṅga to the Śrîraṅgam temple, see *Ind. Ant.* I, p. 131. His are some of the oldest jewels possessed by the temple,—necklaces, gold and silver vessels, etc. [from the *Athenæum*, Jan. 17, 1872].

who represented the necessity of enquiry, he would reply that things once given to a deity ought not to be inquired after. "If a garment be given to a man," he argued, "and it be afterwards said, *we gave it*, the merit of the act is nullified, and in the case of a god," the king continued, "it would be a sordid sin." Vijaya Raṅga Chokkanâtha was, in fact, a Brahman's king. He always liked to have them around him, to listen to their counsels and teachings, to serve them and worship them. No money was wasted, he sincerely believed, when spent on their behalf. They were his very limbs, the breath of his life. Enviable as was the position of the Brahmans under the Nâik regime, it was never so enviable as in the days of their favourite, Vijaya Raṅga.

Official oppression and corruption.

The result of this subordination of the king to the clergy was, as might be expected, a thorough disorganization and dislocation of the state. The conversion of the palace into a place of prayer, of the king into a saint, and of the state into an agency for religious propaganda, naturally brought the affairs of the kingdom into a state of extreme misery. The king's indifference to the duties and responsibilities of royalty made his officials tyrants and oppressors, and exact as much as possible from the helpless people.[61] The voice of distress and the tumult of discontent filled the kingdom. Nelson describes how in 1709, four years after the king's accession, there was, in consequence of the cruelty and injustice of the Daḷavâi Kastûri Raṅga, a serious riot at Madura. An inscription (No. 6 of 1915) belonging to the Temple of Madura clearly bears out this statement and gives a clue as to the condition of the country. It states that the king's officers levied certain taxes on the people of the four villages of Sâmanattam, Śikkalai, Pûṅgaṅkuḷam and Śeṅguḷam which they had hitherto enjoyed as *sarvamânya*, for their service as the bearers of the image of Chokkanâtha during festivals. "Being unable to bear the hardship, they made up their mind to go in a body to commit suicide, one of them actually got upon the gopura, fell down and died. On this the people of the place assembled in the temple to guard its four gates. The officer in charge of the fort, the *maṇiyam* of the place, the *samprati*, the day-watchmen (*dinasarikkârar ?*) and others met together and summoned the assembled people and the bearers of the god and declared that the four villages enjoyed[62] by the latter were, as usual, *sarvamânya*, free of all taxes." Mr. Krishṇasastri remarks that this is not surprising as from 1710 to 1720 the country suffered from the miseries of a widespread famine. The inscription clearly states that the Dalavâi at this time was Kastûri Raṅgaiya and the Pradhâni Vêṅkaṭa Kṛishṇaiya.

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[61] See Nelson: *Madu. Man.*

[62] *Madr. Ep. Rep.* 1915, p. 116. Even in this time the king was very generous in his endowments to Brahmans. In 1708-9 he registers a gift of villagers to the Śaṅkarâchârya *maṭha* at Jambukêśvaram for the feeding of Brahmans. *Ibid.* In 1721 he gave a grant to one Narasa Pantulu, evidently a doctor who was to offer prayers to Dhanvantari. *Madr. Ep. Rep.* 1911, p. 15. In 1708-9, Vijaya Raṅga also gave a grant to Vyâsarâya *maṭha* of Sosale by which "whatever dues were paid in the Madura kingdom to the temple at Chokkanâthapura were to be paid to the *maṭha* also." *Mys. Ep. Rep.* 1915, p. 55.

Nelson proceeds to say that the King woke up from his dream and dismissed his minister; but the new minister Naravappaiya was, we are told, hardly better than his predecessor. His boundless avarice speculated the sum to be distributed as pay among the army, and thereby gave rise to a mutiny of a serious and threatening nature. With greater tact than Kastûri Ranga, Naravappaiya hoodwinked the king, and represented the case in such a light that the latter believed in the honesty of his minister and the unreasonableness of his soldiers. Instead of wisely removing the cause of discontent and conciliating the army, the king listened to the counsels of the Daḷavâi and called the Sêtupati for help. The Sêtupati of the time, Kiḷavan, as he was called, readily responded to his suzerain's call, but instead of joining him in the chastisement of the mutineers he advised him to grant the arrears of pay and win back their loyalty by a wise policy of justice. The king apparently saw his own folly and the villainy of his minister. He immediately paid the pay of the discontented men, and the mutiny ended. We do not know whether the Daḷavâi was dismissed or not: but from the fact that we meet with a new name, that of Vênkaṭarâghavâchârya, in his place, we have to infer that he must have been dismissed. As for Vênkaṭarâghavâcharya, who, to judge from his name, was evidently a Srî Vaishṇava Brahman, we have no direct evidence to prove that he was worse than his predecessors. But one remarkable incident which the Telugu *Record of the Carnatic Governors* gives about him, shews that he was not probably free from their weakness. He had, it is said, accumulated ready money to the value of a lakh of pagodas and jewels of immense worth. As he grew old and felt the hand of death he expressed, no doubt with the idea of preventing the annexation of his immense acquisition by the Crown, a desire to see the king. The latter condescended to honour his servant. On his arrival at his habitation he found himself seated on a jewelled throne and honoured with all honours. 300 trays, moreover, full of pagodas and *mohars*, of rupees and *fanams*, 300 more of gems and golden jewels, and 400 of costly attire, were placed by the minister at the feet of his master. It is difficult to read the motive of Vênkaṭa Râghava in bequeathing this enormous wealth to the king. Perhaps he felt that the inheritance of such enormous riches by his heirs would surprise the ignorance and excite the jealous avarice of royalty, thereby causing their transfer to the royal coffers. To make the king acquainted with the extent of his resources and to justify his vanity by a bequeathal of a portion of it to him, was perhaps a device to ensure his son's inheritance of the rest. Or it is possible that the Daḷavâi felt a remorse, and thought of satisfying his conscience by sacrificing a portion to the State. Whatever the fact was, whether the Daḷavâi's motive was one of vanity or remorse, or of policy or foresight, the result was a triumph which he could hardly have expected. For, as soon as the king's eyes fell on these presents, he exclaimed in the name of God that it was a sin to look at the valuables of a Brahman, much more so to take possession of them! Looking hard at the Daḷavâi, he then added that, in case he had been inspired in his conduct by the apprehension of future insecurity, he was labouring under a mistake. Not satisfied with the assurance, the reckless monarch presented the Daḷavâi with 30,000 pagodas, directing that part of it should go to his comforts and the rest to the performance of charities. Only

one thing remained for the king,—the removal of the sin he had committed by looking on a Brahman's property; and that was done by the liberal distribution of cows, lands and food to the needy and the indigent!!

Vijaya Raṅga and Kandy.

Such was the reckless folly and culpable extravagance of Vijaya Raṅga Chokkanâtha. For the sake of his gods and his Brahmans he sacrificed his State and his subjects. Conservative as the Nâiks were in their social policy, none was so conservative as Vijaya Raṅga. This is exemplified in his relation with the contemporary king of Kandi. The Sinhalese monarch[63], Kumâra Singh Mahâ Rajah, was unmarried owing to the lack of girls in his family. He therefore sent, at the instance of his officers and subjects, an embassy to Trichinopoly to solicit an alliance with the Nâik family. With costly garments and ornaments, the Ceylon messengers reached the Nâik Capital, and in an interview with Vijaya Raṅga, expressed the object of their embassy. But no sooner did the son of Raṅga Kṛishṇa hear of this than he expressed his abhorrence of the proposal. He asked the strangers whether their master was of his own caste, and whether there had been any intermarriage in the past, and on being replied in the negative, dismissed them without ceremony, commanding the Chobdars to take them forthwith outside the fort. The king also issued an order that none of his relatives or castemen should give a daughter of his house to the Sinhalese monarch. The king's order however was honoured more by breach than by observance; for an ambitious member of the caste, more anxious to have a royal grandson than to preserve the caste rule or to obey the royal mandate, treated secretly with the messengers, and in return for gifts of many *huns* and robes, accompanied them stealthily to Kandy and celebrated his daughter in marriage with the king.

The State at Vijaya Raṅga's death.

The result of this unsatisfactory state of things was that when the king died[64] in 1731 the state was in a dangerous situation. The treasury was empty, the vassals turbulent, and Vijaya Raṅga was childless. The Mysore occupation of the northern parts of the kingdom moreover had become permanent. An inscription of 1714, for instance,[65] says that the townsmen, tribesmen, religious schools and Vêdic divisions of a town in Âttûr sold a piece of land to a Brahman, and that they recognized in it "Shrimad Rajadhiraja Raja Parameshvara Rajamartanda Prauda Pratapa," the conqueror of kings, "the unrivalled Kṛishṇa Raja Udayar," whose standard "bore the image of the earth-goddess with the boar," as their sovereign.

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63 See *Account of the Singhalese Kings*, Appendix.

64 According to Muthiah, he died in 1734; to Orme, in 1736. The real date is 1731.

65 *Salem Manual*, II. p. 86.

SECTION III.

The Setupati affairs.

The weakness of Vijaya Raṅga is best illustrated in the Ramnad affairs. His inability to control the army at home necessarily weakened his hold on the Polygars, and many of them shewed signs of defection and independence. Kiḷavan[66] Sêtupati was the first and foremost to do it. We have already seen how he based his rule on popular welfare and military efficiency, and how besides changing the seat of government to Râmnâḍ, he ruled his state well.

A tremendous storm.—1709.

In 1709 Râmnâḍ suffered from not only a famine but one of the most destructive cyclones recorded in the history of India. Beginning in the early morning of December 18, it raged, with constant violence, till noon[67]; and after a temporary lull which lasted for four hours, broke out again with tremendous vigour, and lasted throughout night. The storm was accompanied by a violent rain, the torrent of which flooded the land. The next day the sun rose on one of the tragic scenes of history. The embankments of tanks already, owing to the monsoons, full to the brim gave away, and their waters, joined to those from above, converted the kingdom into a vast lake, interspersed here and there with precarious lands. Cattle and goats, dogs and men, struggled in the floods, and their carcases and corpses floated in grim and hideous company. Râmnâḍ became an extensive field of death, a scene of horrifying tragedy in which thousands, old and young, men and women, found a simultaneous watery grave. Trees of strong build and gigantic growth measured the ground, and the corn fields were covered and destroyed by a thick layer of sand and earth, the removal of which was an expense intolerable to the ruined peasants. Tanks and wells were fouled and poisoned and the stench of corpses filled the atmosphere and bred disease. The after-effects of the cyclone were even more destructive. For a space of four years the kingdom became subject to an acute and all-penetrating famine. Many people died of starvation,[68] and many more left Râmnâd for ever, and sought snelter in Tanjore and Madura.

(*To be continued.*)

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[66] See *Madura Manual* and O. H. *MSS.* He performed the Hiraṇyagarbha sacrifice. For his grants in 1707 and 1712 to the Vyâsarâya *maṭha* at Sôsale (thrugh his agent at Râmêśvaram) see *Mys. Ep. Rep.* 1915, p. 55. The inscription enumerates all the titles of the Sêtupati.

[67] Such storms were very frequent. It was a tremendous storm of 1480 that broke Adam's Bridge. See Ferguson's *Gold, Gems and Pearls, in Ceylon and S. India*, p. 300. See also Col. Love's *Vestiges of Madras* for similar storms in 1640, 1662, 1668, 1674, 1679, 1687, 1717, etc.

[68] Nelson points out from the Jesuit authorities that it was due not to mis-government but to the failure of monsoons. Prices rose 32 times. *E.g.*, eight Ramnad *marakâls* of rice usually costing one *fanam* cost in 1713, 32 *fanams.* See *Madura Man.* p. 242.

MISCELLANEA.

MAGHA AND HIS PATRONS.

In the colophon to his *Śiśupâlavadham* Mâgha mentions his grandfather Suprabhadeva as having been the minister of a certain king, whose name has naturally been made a sport of in various MSS. giving us any number of variants. An inscription from Vasantagadh dated 682 V. S., (A. D. 625) has brought to light the name of a king coinciding with one of the variants, Varmalâta, and most of our scholars have proposed a happy identity of the two kings, giving A. D. 650-700 as a fairly approximate date for Mâgha. The only thing that stands in the way is the well-known verse of Mâgha's poem (II. 112)

अनुत्सूत्रपदन्यासा सद्वृत्तिः सन्निबन्धना ।
शब्दविद्येव नो भाति राजनीतिरपस्पशा ॥

where the words वृत्ति and न्यास, according to Mallinâtha, convey a covert allusion to the *Kâśikâ* and its commentary *Nyâsa* (by Jinendrabuddhi). Jayâditya, one of the authors of the *Kâśikâ* died, according to I-tsing, in A. D. 661, and the *Nyâsa*, which is not mentioned in the elaborate account of I-tsing, was evidently not yet written in A. D. 695, when I-tsing left India. Mâgha cannot therefore be placed earlier than the middle of the 8th century, making the proposed identification of Varmalâta rather impossible. The learned editor of the inscription, following his collaborator Dr. Konow, has indeed sought to reconcile the two conflicting evidences by making Mâgha, with some stretch, a contemporary of Jinendra, and placing both early in the 8th century. (*Ep. Indica*, Vol. IX, p. 190). But perhaps Mallinâtha's interpretation should better be rejected in face of the palpable epigraphic evidence For even though we may admit Mallinâtha's comment in Mâgha's passage, a different meaning have certainly to be sought for the words वृत्ति and न्यास as they occur in a strikingly similar passage of Bâṇa's *Harṣacharita*, which may not unlikely have been the original from which Mâgha drew :

प्रसन्नवृत्तयों गृहीतवाक्या कृतगुरुपदन्यासा लोक इव व्याकरणेपि । (Nirn. S. Ed. p. 90). Here we have evidence of earlier *vrittis* and earlier *nyâsas* in the domain of Sanskrit grammar. The ancient commentator Śankara, without referring to particular works, explains वृत्तिः सूत्रविवरणं ..... न्यासो वृत्तिविवरणं and thus lends a strong support to Dr. Kielhorn, who similarly rejected Mallinâtha's glossary (*JRAS*, 1908, p. 499). The word वृत्ति itself occurs in an introductory verse of the *Kâśikâ*, and Haradatta and Jinendra in their comments thereon have preserved to us the names of no less than four earlier *vrittikâras, viz.*, Kuṇi, Chûlli, Bhatti and Nallûra (Bengal MS. reads निर्लूर ; *Kâśikâvivaraṇapanjikâ*, pp. 1-2).[1] It is evident that along with these earlier *vrittis* there were also earlier *nyâsas*, which led both Bâṇabhaṭṭa and Mâgha to form their respective conceits.

But beyond being called upon to settle the date of Mâgha, the discovery of this new inscription has not it seems been pushed to its proper conclusions. It seems to be generally forgotten that the प्रभावकचरित alone preserved what now appears to be the correct form of the king's name as वर्मलात and it is but fair to take the author at his word when he further says that he was king of श्रीमाल, capital of the Gurjara Kingdom. (*Nirn. S.* ED. pp. 196-7). It appears therefore that वर्मलात is the earliest king of the great Gurjara Kingdom of Bhinmal, whose name has yet been brought to light. Brahmagupta the great astronomer who styles himself "Bhillamallakâchârya" wrote his work in A. D. 628 under king Vyâghramukha of the Śrichâpa dynasty, who according to V. Smith (*JRAS*, 1907, p. 923 sqq.) was presumably a king of Bhinmal. Vyâghramukha must then have been the immediate successor of Varmalâta, the date A. D. 625 marking the closing period of the latter's reign. It is therefore difficult to push Mâgha's date beyond A. D. 700 in view of his alleged reference to *Jinendranyâsa*. For Hiuen Tsiang, who visited Bhinmal about A. D. 641-2, described the reigning king as a young man of only twenty. He is evidently the immediate successor of Vyâghramukha and may therefore be looked upon as the contemporary and patron of our poet, the grandson of Varmalâta's minister, as shown below :—

Varmalâta (*circa* 600-625)	Minister Suprabhadeva
|	|
Vyâghramukha (625-640)	Dattaka
|	|
(born *circa* 620, asc. 640)	Mâgha

[1] According to कैयट Kuṇi preceded the भाष्यकार "भाष्यकारस्तु कुणिदर्शनमशिश्रियत्" (कैयट on 1 i. 75). A *Chullikâbhaṭṭavritti* (?) according to Aufrecht (*ZDMG* 28, p. 113) is quoted in a MS. of रायमुकुट's comm. on Amara and may refer to Chûlli. A निर्लूरवृत्ति is found quoted in श्रीपतिदत्त's कातन्त्रपरिशिष्ट : the passage which seems to embody a good chronology is here given in full— 'भाषायामपि चर्करीतमिच्छन्ति उक्तंहि भाष्ये भाषायामपि यङो लुगस्ति निर्लूरवृत्तौ (v. l. निर्लुरवृत्तौ) चोक्तं भाषायां यङो लुगस्तीति लुगधिकारे यङो बहुलमिति चान्द्रे च पठ्यते काशिकायामपिछन्दोऽनुवृत्तिरिह नेष्टेत्युक्तं .....भागवृत्तिकारस्तु बोभवीत्येव न छान्दसमिति मन्यते ॥ वृत्ति on चर्करीताभ्यासस्य (सन्धिप्रकरणं). निर्लूर is here placed between the भाष्यकार and चन्द्रगोमि Perhaps in point of time.

Now it is a significant fact that all the three works—प्रभावकचरितम्, प्रबन्धचिन्तामणि and भोजप्रबन्ध —that give us accounts of the poet Mâgha make him a protégé of that literary magnet of the 11th century A.D., King Bhoja of Dhârâ. The भोजप्रबन्ध may be dismissed as a most reckless piece of patchwork but the other two works are never so wantonly fanciful. Both of them agree in making Mâgha a native of Śrimâla and the प्रभावकचरित, while recording genuine history in Suprabhadeva having been a minister of Varmalâta of Bhinmal, almost in the same breath associates Mâgha (the grandson of Suprabhadeva) with Bhoja: तस्य श्रीभोजभूपालबालमित्रं कवीश्वरः । श्रीमाघो नन्दनो ब्राह्मीस्वन्दनः शक्तिस्वन्दनः ॥ (श्रीसिद्धर्षिसूरिप्रबन्ध· v. 15, p. 197.) Moreover the following verse is quoted in the सदुक्तिकर्णामृत under the joint authorship of Bhojadeva and Mâgha :

रेवतीवदनोच्छिष्ट परिपूतपुटे दृशौ ।
वहन् हलीमदक्षीवः पानगोष्ठ्यां पुनातु वः ॥
भोजदेवमाघयोः

(I. 48. 4, p. 62, *Bibl. Indica* Ed.)

It is therefore not unlikely that the association of Mâgha with Bhojadeva has some truth behind it, and now that the date of Mâgha has been fairly settled, we should seriously consider the question of the existence of more than one Bhojadeva in the history of Western India. Col Tod in his *Rájasthân*, stated on the strength of a *Jaina Chronogrammatic Catalogue* (obtained from the temple of Nadole), that there were three Bhojas, all belonging to the Pramâra race of Mâlava, reigning respectively in A. D. 575, 665 and 1042. The last Bhojadeva is very well known and Col. Tod corroborated the existence of the second Bhojadeva of A. D. 665 by the *Mânsarovar inscription* (found near Chitor) of the Pramâra king Mâna, son of Bhoja of Mâlava dated 770 V. S. (A. D. 714) (*Vide Râjasthan*, Vol. , p. 92, note § and pp. 799-801 : ins. No. III). This inscription, to which Col. Tod justly attached so much importance, has it seems been entirely missed by all later scholars and does not find place in *Kielhorn's List*. It is not known if the inscription can now be traced after such a length of time. But relying on Col. Tod's account of it we can well believe in the existence of a Bhojadeva, Pramâra of Mâlava, reigning round about Chitor in A.D. 665 and his patronage of Mâgha can no longer be a myth in point of chronology.

Bhojadeva and his son Mâna are described in the inscription as kings of Mâlava. This can well be elucidated by a reference to the travels of Hiuen Tsiang. Hiuen Tsiang turned South-East from the Gurjara Kingdom and came to Ujjayini. To the North-East of Ujjayini lie the small kingdom Chi-chi-to (Chitore ?) and to the North of Chitor again lie Mahesvarapura. All these three kingdoms are described as having been reigned over by kings of the "Brahmin Caste" (meaning evidently non-Budhist) and inhabited by like peoples. It is apparent that the great kingdom of Mâlava in its Eastern portion the Western portion, the Ma lo pa of Hiuen Tsiang, already annexed according to Smith to the kingdom of Valabhi—then comprised a group of these three not very powerful kingdoms reigned over by different branches of the same race, the Pramâra Bhojadeva the elder evidently ruled over the kingdom of Chitor, where his son's reign ended. Mahesvarapura may also have been named after Mahesvara, one of the illustrious kings of the early Pramâra race mentioned in the above inscription. It is also important that in Hiuen Tsiang's time the reigning king of Chitor "encouraged men of merit and learned scholars of other lands collected here in numbers" (Watter's *Yuan Chwang*, Vol. II, p 251) It is possible that the king whom Hiuen Tsiang saw was either Bhojadeva himself, if we allow him a long reign, or his father, and this allusion to his magnanimity is significant as showing that Bhojadeva the elder was also as great a patron of learning as his famous descendant and namesake of the 11th century. Evidently the respective literary traditions about each came in course of time to be confused and went to create an ideal, a sort of *Magnus* Bhoja, the very prototype of the legendary Vikramâditya, round whom all sorts of literary stories gathered. By this existence of an earlier Bhojadeva it is possible to clear many of the apparently absurd synchronisms, such as that of Bâna and Mayûra with Bhoja.

D. C. BHATTACHARYA, M.A.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

NOTES FROM OLD FACTORY RECORDS.

5. Proceedings for a Lease in 1682.

12. *October* 1682. **Consultation in Masulipatam.** Mauhmud Edgdee [Mahmûd Hâjî], a Persian who hath severall years laid Claime to a peece of ground in the midle of this Factory and given our predecessours and selves Continuall trouble aboute keeping it, the business now being brought to an agreement for pagods: 157, he signing a lease for said ground to the Honoble. Company for ninety nine years before the Codgee &ca. officers [*qâzî* and other officers], and severall other eminent Persians who have sett their hands and seales to the said lease, in witness thereof tis therefore ordered the 157 pagod: be Imediatly paid him according to agreement. The Governour of this towne pretend he hath much befreinded us in the makeing up of this business and that the owner of the ground hath spent more then he receives in the procurement of orders from Court to have a Right and Justice done him here, therefore desires us to Consider him and give him some small Tachareife [*tashrîf*, complimentary present] that he may goe away Contented, which to oblige the Governour, Councell have thought fitt to present the aforesaid Mauhmud Edgdee with 3 yards Broadcloth rosewater and beetle [betel] which was gratefully received by him. (*Factory Records, Masulipatam*, vol. 4).

R. C. T.

A THIRD JOURNEY OF EXPLORATION IN CENTRAL ASIA, 1913-16.

BY SIR AUREL STEIN, K.C.I.E., D.LITT.

(*Continued from p.* 172.)

IT was a great relief when by the ninth day from Altmish-bulak we came upon the first scanty scrub and reeds growing on sandy soil by the shore of the ancient dried-up sea. Next day a long march to the south-east brought us safely across the wide, salt-encrusted expanse, here showing patches of actual salt bog to the lonely caravan track towards Tun-huang. There at the well of Kum-kuduk I had the great satisfaction of finding brave Lal Singh just arrived after carrying out an interesting survey of the north-eastern shores of the dried-up sea-bed, and the straggling low ranges which abut upon them. One day later our successfully arranged concentration was completed by the arrival of our heavy baggage from Miran.

Letting it move on towards Tun-huang by the caravan track we turned once more north across the end of the dried-up Lop Sea, and continued to explore the ground close to the foot of the Kuruk-tagh where the ancient route had passed. Further to the north-east the desert area near the present terminal basin of the Su-lo Ho River, with its dried-up depressions and mazes of lacustrine *Meshas*, offered opportunities for geographically interesting new surveys. There I picked up Surveyor Muhammad Yakub Khan, who had carried a carefully observed line of levels all the way up from the southern shore of the ancient dry sea. Coupled with other observations, its result has confirmed my belief that the water of the Su-lo Ho at a peroid relatively recent in a geological sense had drained into the Lop-nor Basin. We found them still percolating, in the same direction, the sandy soil at the foot of the Kuruk-tagh within a few feet from the surface. Evidence that this drainage had been more considerable during historical times was furnished by the remains we traced of a canal, which appears to have been constructed for the purpose of carrying water along a portion of the ancient Chinese route where it approached the eastern end of the dried-up salt sea.

Leaving the surveyors behind for supplementary tasks, I reached by March 16 the westernmost point of that fortified ancient Chinese border line which I had first discovered and successfully explored in 1907. It was a cheering experience for me during the next few days to revisit the ruined watch-stations of the "Great Wall" in this desolate gravel waste and clear up on the spot antiquarian questions raised by the ancient records they had yielded. I felt quite at home here, as I followed again the tracks still clearly visible for long distances which the tramp of the patrols marching along the wall for centuries had worn into the soil. The fact that in places I could quite distinctly recognize my own footprints of seven years before, and those of my little dog, was the best illustration how long this bare gravel surface might retain traces of regular tracks, even if trodden about the time of Christ. From Lake Khara-nor onwards I then completed my detailed exploration of the Tun-huang *Limes* by searching all the ruined watch-towers along the portion of the line where circumstances had in 1907 obliged me to leave a gap in my survey. These small watch-stations usually occupied the top of high erosion terraces, and their ruins and refuse heaps were thus well protected from damp. So our search was rewarded by plentiful finds of Chinese records on wood, curious articles of equipment and other interesting relics going back to Han times.

Before the close of March, 1914, I had regained my old haunts of Tun-huang, and after a very brief halt to allow men and animals to recover from our trying winter campaign I started for the explorations planned eastwards. They were to take me mainly into the deserts which fringe on the south and east the great barren hill region usually designated as the Pei-shan Gobi. The distances were great and short the remaining season during which that waterless ground could be visited before the great summer heat set in. But even thus I could not forego a renewed visit to the famous cave temples of the "Thousand Buddhas" south-east of Tun-huang. There in 1907, I had been fortunate enough to secure such abundant antiquarian and artistic spoil from the walled-up temple *cella*, in which a whole library of Buddhist and other manuscripts and hundreds of fine paintings on silk had been hidden away early in the eleventh century, together with a multitude of other relics.

I could not expect to make such a haul now. For when a year after my own visit, Professor Pelliot, on a mission from the French Government, had with his expert knowledge of Chinese, searched the hoard and carried off a considerable selection of its remaining manuscripts, the attention of the authorities at Peking had been attracted to the old library, and its transfer to the capital was decreed. Of the careless and in reality destructive way in which the order had been carried out, I found evidence in the many scattered rolls of Chinese-Buddhist texts, undoubtedly derived from this source, which were offered to me for purchase at a number of towns both in Turkestan and Kansu. So it was satisfactory to find that somehow a considerable quantity of Chinese manuscripts from the walled-up *cella* still remained behind at the "Thousand Buddhas," and that my old priestly friend, Wang Tao-shi, was prepared to part with them in regard for a proper compensation for his pious establishment. He showed me with genuine pride the good use to which he had put the sum previously received from me, by building some gaudy new shrines and comfortable pilgrims' quarters. It was also reassuring to see that his personal relations with the pious people of Tun-haung and their official guardians had evidently in no way suffered by our former little transaction. The only regret which it had left behind in the quaint little monk was that he had not been shrewd enough to accept the offer made by me in 1907 for the whole hoard, and had thus failed to save it from dispersion, and to secure its full value for his shrine. Our reunion was throughout very cordial, and when we parted again my collection had received an appreciable addition of cases with old manuscripts and other relics in evidence of Wang Tao-shi's good will, and his appreciation of my ever-faithful attachment to the memory of holy Hsüan-tsang.

My immediate task, and one cherished ever since 1907, was to trace the line of the ancient Chinese *Limes* as far as possible to eastward, and to explore whatever ruins might have survived along it. After striking across a difficult belt of salt marshes, which nearly embogged my camels, I came again upon the ancient border wall half-way between Tun-huang and An-hsi. From there we succeeded in exploring its line for close on 250 miles eastwards. For almost the whole of this distance the wall, with its watch-towers and small military posts, had been built across what already in ancient times was absolute desert ground. The resulting immunity from human interference had contributed greatly to the preservation of the remains for fully two thousand years; but the remarkable method of construction employed was an even more important factor. The most destructive of natural forces in this region has always been slow-grinding but relentless wind-erosion. The wall or *agger*, built of carefully secured fascines of reeds, brushwood, or tamarisk branches, whichever

of these materials were available in the immediate vicinity, was specially adapted to with stand it. Even where the watch-towers, once massively built in sun-dried bricks or stamped clay, had been under-cut by erosion at the base and been subsequently reduced to shapeless low mounds, difficult to recognize from a distance, the direction of the wall still clearly revealed itself, as it stretched away in a characteristic straight line across wastes of gravel or drift-sand.

The remains proved to have suffered most along that stretch of ground where the *Limes*, after crossing the Su-lo Ho to its right bank east of An-hsi, ran close to the deep-cut river-bed, and in a due easterly direction. On the bare riverine loess crossed here by the wall the erosive force of the prevailing north-east winds, blowing down with great violence from the gravel plateaus of the Pei-shan, could fully assert itself. But even where all structural features had been completely effaced it was easy for us with the experience gained elsewhere accurately to determine the position of the posts once guarding the border, from the fragments of pottery, coins, metal objects, and other hard débris which could be picked up at these points from the wind-worn surface. It was quite an exciting chase to search for these indications, and my Indian assistants and Turki followers had by now become expert in the game.

Where the Su-lo Ho valley bends sharply southward the line of the *Limes* was found to turn to the north-east, and to approach closer and closer to the foot of the Pei-shan. The ground crossed by it had remained so far unsurveyed, and the difficulties of our search were much increased by the distances which separated the long-forgotten border from the nearest water. Fortunately the days had now grown longer, and I was able to take out my little detachment of diggers mounted on the big hardy donkeys which abound at the oases of this region. Ample finds of ancient Chinese records on wood, articles of furniture, fragments of arms and implements rewarded the rapid search of the ruined watch-stations. That all these had been left behind by the Chinese troops, who during the first century before and after Christ had guarded this most dismal of frontiers, was made clear on the spot by conclusive archæological evidence. The finds of records still await expert examination by M. Chavannes, my learned Sinologue collaborator at Paris. They may be expected to furnish an important addition to the collection of early Chinese records resulting from my former explorations, which he had published in 1913.

Interesting light was thrown on the climatic conditions prevailing here from early times by the fact that here too the inscribed slips of wood, the "waste paper," to use an anachronism, thrown out of ancient office-rooms, were found often in refuse layers covered by a few inches only of gravel or débris. Their preservation in such conditions presupposes a remarkable dryness of the climate for the last two thousand years. Apart from this and the uniform barrenness, there was considerable variety in the natural features of the ground traversed by this eastern portion of the *Limes*. Thus all the more opportunity presented itself of observing the remarkable skill and topographical sense with which those old Chinese engineers of Han times had adapted their defensive border-line to different local conditions.

That they were prepared for great and sustained efforts demanding real powers of organisation in the face of formidable natural obstacles was clearly demonstrated when, some 30 miles to the north-east of the little oasis of Ying-p'an ("the garrison") we found the *Limes* boldly carried into and through what since ancient times must have been a big area of drift-sand. Where not completely buried by high dunes, the wall built with

tamarisk fascines, and of the usual thickness of 8 to 9 feet, still rose to close on 15 feet. Special difficulties must have been encountered in assuring water and supplies for the men guarding this section. In order to safeguard what evidently was an important line of communication and supplies leading to it, a chain of small fortified stations had been constructed to the south independently of the wall, but at the same period. It ran in the direction of the big oasis of Su-chou, an important Chinese base ever since Han times, and to this I turned when early in May it became necessary to make preparations for our next move northward.

I had planned to follow the united course of the rivers of Su-chou and Kan-chou down into southernmost Mongolia, and to explore the ruins which the reports of Russian travellers had led me to expect along it and in its terminal delta. I was specially attracted to this ground by its geographical character, which suggested close resemblance to that of the Lop-nor region, and by the interest attaching to its earliest historical past. For we know that this region of the Etsin-gol, as the river is called by the Mongols, had been included in the wide dominion held by those earliest nomadic masters of Kansu, the "Great Yüeh-chih," the later Indo-Scythians, and the Huns, whose successive migrations westwards were destined to affect so deeply the history of Central Asia as well as of India and the West.

The effective intercession of H.M.'s Minister at Peking had secured for me a very friendly reception by the Chinese administration of the Kansu Province. The Tao-tai of Su-chou agreed to provide me with a recommendation to the chief of the Torgut Mongols who now graze in the Etsin-gol delta, and on May 10 I was able to set out northward. The track I followed down the river of Su-chou allowed me to approach once more the area where we had previously lost the line of the ancient frontier amidst high dunes. Pushing a reconnaissance into the stony desert north-west of the Chint'a oasis, I came upon remains of the *Limes* where it emerged on less impracticable ground near the south-eastern extremity of the Pei-shan. Thence we tracked it right through to the north of the Mao-mei oasis, the last Chinese settlement. There Lal Singh rejoined me after having followed a hitherto unsurveyed route along the river of Kan-chou, where it breaks in a picturesque gorge through the westernmost hill range of the Ala-shan.

In the valley of the Etsin-gol, nature, by affording water and grazing, has ever provided an easy route for raids and invasions from the Mongolian steppes into the line of the westernmost Kansu oases, which itself constitutes the great natural highway connecting China with the Tarim Basin and innermost Central Asia. Ruined forts of imposing size and evident antiquity were found to guard the point where this route of invasion cuts through the ancient border-line drawn by the Chinese, when they first occupied those oases in the reign of the great Han Emperor Wu-ti. One fort built with clay walls of exceptional strength looked an exact counterpart of the ancient frontier post of the "Jade Gate," famous in Chinese historical records, and previously identified by me on the Tun-huang *Limes*. We found evidence that the fortified border-line after crossing the Etsin-gol, north of Mao-mei, had continued through the desert eastwards. But when we came back in June from the Etsin delta the summer heat had become too great to permit of further search on this waterless ground.

We found even in May our long marches trying as we moved down by the sandy bed of the Etsin-gol, nearly a mile wide in places, but absolutely dry at that time. Only at rare intervals could water be obtained from wells dug in deep hollows below the banks. Some 90 miles below Mao-mei the river passes through a low rocky spur thrown out from

the easternmost Pei-shan, and spreads out in a delta, which extends for over 110 miles to the north, terminating in a line of brackish lakes and marshes. The conditions brought about here by a succession of low-water seasons furnished a striking illustration of the appearance which the ancient Lou-lan delta we had explored in the winter may have presented before its final desiccation. Where river-beds lined by narrow belts of riverine jungle had been left dry for long years, we found many of the wild poplars already dead or dying. The wide stretches of ground separating the several beds showed but scanty scrub, or else were absolutely bare. No wonder that we heard sad complaints in the scattered camps of the two hundred odd Mongol families, which are established in the Etsin-gol delta, about the increasing difficulties caused by inadequate grazing. Their chief, whom I visited on May 25 in his modest encampment, proved a well-meaning but weak individual, and his subjects as indolent as they were "much given to deceit," to use an expression of my Chinese patron saint. It was no easy matter to secure an adequate number of labourers for my intended excavations, and still more difficult to keep them at work, in spite of very generous pay.

Advantages of geographical position must at all times have invested this extensive riverine tract, limited as are its resources, with considerable importance for those, whether armed host or traders, who would make the long journey from the heart of Mongolia in the north to the Kansu oases. It had been the same with the ancient Lou-lan delta, without which the Chinese could not have opened up the earliest and most direct route for the expansion of their trade and political influence into Central Asia. The analogy thus presented could not fail to impress me even further when I proceeded to examine the ruins of Khara-khoto, the "Black Town" which Colonel Kozloff, the distinguished Russian explorer, had been the first European to visit during his expedition of 1908–09. There remained no doubt for me then that it was identical with Marco Polo's "City of Etzina." Of this we are told in the great Venetian traveller's narrative that it lay a twelve days' ride from the city of Kan-chou, "towards the north on the verge of the desert; it belongs to the Province of Tangut." All travellers bound for Kara-koram, the old capital of the Mongols, had here to lay in victuals for forty days in order to cross the great "desert which extends forty days' journey to the north, and on which you meet with no habitation nor baiting place."

The position thus indicated was found to correspond exactly to that of Khara-khoto, and the identification was completely borne out by the antiquarian evidence brought to light. It soon showed me that though the town may have suffered considerably, as local tradition asserts, when Chingiz Khan with his Mongol army first invaded and conquered Kansu from this side about 1226 A.D., yet it continued to be inhabited down to Marco Polo's time, and partially at least for more than a century later. This was probably the case even longer with the agricultural settlement for which it had served as a local centre, and of which we traced extensive remains in the desert to the east and north-east. But the town itself must have seen its most flourishing times under Tangut or Hsi-hsia rule from the beginning of the eleventh century down to the Mongol conquest.

It was from this period, when Tibetan influence from the south seems to have made itself strongly felt throughout Kansu, that most of the Buddhist shrines and memorial Stupas dated, which filled a great portion of the ruined town and were conspicuous also outside it. In one of the latter Colonel Kozloff had made his notable find of Buddhist texts and paintings.

But a systematic search of this and other ruins soon showed that the archæological riches of the site were by no means exhausted. By a careful clearing of the débris which covered the bases of Stupas and the interior of temple *cellas* we brought to light abundant remains of Buddhist manuscripts and block prints, both in Tibetan and the as yet very imperfectly known old Tangut language, as well as plenty of interesting relievos in stucco or terra-cotta and frescoes. The very extensive refuse heaps of the town yielded up a large number of miscellaneous records on paper in the Chinese, Tangut, and Uigur scripts, together with many remains of fine glazed pottery, and of household utensils. Finds of Hsi-hsia coins, ornaments in stone and metal, etc., were also abundant, particularly on wind-eroded ground.

There was much to support the belief that the final abandonment of the settlement was brought about by difficulties of irrigation. The dry river-bed which passes Khara-khoto lies some 7 miles to the east of the nearest branch still reached by the summer floods. The old canals we traced, leading to the abandoned farms eastwards, are removed considerably further. It was not possible to determine by conclusive evidence whether this failure of irrigation had been the result of desiccation in the Etsin-gol delta or been caused by some change in the river-course at canal-head, with which the settlement was for some reason unable to cope. But there seemed to me good reason to believe that the water-supply now reaching the delta during a few summer months would no longer suffice to assure adequate irrigation for the once cultivated area. Even at the Mao-mei oasis, over 150 miles higher up the river, and with conditions of ground far more favourable for the maintenance of a system of canals, serious trouble had been experienced for years past in securing a sufficient discharge early enough in the season, and much of the once cultivated area seemed to have been recently abandoned.

With the rapidly increasing heat, work at the desert sites had become very trying both for the men and our camels, upon which we depended for the transport of water. With the completion of our task at Khara-khoto, and of the surveys which had meanwhile taken Lal Singh to the terminal lake-basins of the Etsin-gol, I was glad to let the hard-worked camels depart for their much-needed summer holiday in the Kongurche hills north-eastward and to start myself with Lal Singh south to the foot of the Nan-shan. The new route, which we were able to follow for part of the journey, took us through hitherto unexplored portions of the desert hills to the east and north of the river of Kan-chou. But owing to the heat and the scarcity of spring it implied serious fatigues, and it was a relief when Kan-chou was safely reached before the close of June.

A short but refreshing halt in that large and pleasant oasis was devoted to the arrangements needed for the new surveys I had planned in the Central Nan-shan. Their object was to extend the mapping, which in 1907 we had effected in the high mountains near the sources of the Su-lo Ho and Su-chou River, by accurate surveys of the high ranges further east, containing the headwaters of the river of Kan chou. In conjunction with our labours in the Etsin-gol region, they were intended to complete the mapping of that large north-western portion of Kansu which, inasmuch as it sends all its waters into drainageless basins, may well be claimed in respect of its hydrography and general physical conditions as belonging to Central Asia rather than to China. Knowing the reluctance of the local Chinese to venture far into those mountains, I was prepared for the difficulties experienced at the outset in securing transport. But a fortunate chance brought just then an old Chinese friend to the military command of Kan-chou in the person of worthy General Tsai, whose kindness I remembered so well from my visits to Su-chou in 1907, and his opportune help enabled us to set out for the mountains by the first week of July.

The route followed during the first marches acquainted me with a series of old Buddhist cave temples at Ma-ti-ssu, containing sculptures of Sung times, and with other interesting Buddhist remains in the pretty little town of Nan-kou-chêng at the foot of the mountains. The visit did not pass without profit for my collection of antiques, and also helped to make me realize that we were now near a dividing line of distinct geographical interest. For while to the west cultivation, whether in the plain or along the foot of the mountains, requires irrigation, we now came upon loess slopes and big alluvial fans which rainfall alone suffices to make fertile. Our approach to the watershed of the Pacific Ocean was appropriately foreshadowed by this marked change in climate conditions.

Following the route which leads towards Hsi-ning and ascending through the picturesque gorge and the pass of O-po, we reached the broad valley where the easternmost feeders of the river of Kan-chou gather at an elevation of over 11,000 feet. Thence we were making our way westwards over high alpine grazing grounds frequented in the summer by Tangut herdsmen and horse-breeders, when I met with a serious riding accident which might well have put an end for ever to all my travelling. My Badakhshi stallion reared suddenly, and over-balancing himself fell backwards upon me, with the result that the muscles of my left thigh were severely injured. For over two weeks I was unable to leave my camp bed or to use the crutches we improvised. But fortunately the arrangements already made allowed me to let Lal Singh proceed for the topographical tasks I had planned. He carried them through with all his wonted devotion and energy, and no time was lost in our programme. Nearly three weeks had passed when, with my leg still feeling the strain severely, I managed to get myself carried down in a litter to Kan-chou.

During a ten days' halt there I experienced much kindness from Father Van Eecke and other Belgian missionaries, and received the first confused news of the great European conflagration. Then I set out by the third week of August for the long-planned journey through the Pei-shan Gobi. It was to take me back to Turkestan for the work of the autumn and winter. Eight long marches brought me to Mao-mei by a new route skirting the hills on the right bank of the river of Kan-chou, and allowed me to view the remains of the late mediæval "Great Wall" which runs on to and ends near Su-chou. The complete decay into which it has fallen for considerable distances, notwithstanding its relatively recent origin, helped me to appreciate all the more the time-resisting solidity which the methods of construction employed by the engineers of Han times had assured to their *Limes* wall. I reached Mao-mei exhausted by the effort which it had cost me to do this journey on horseback, because of the severe strain to my leg. But I found there my brave camels safely arrived and was cheered by Lal Singh rejoining me. By exceptional efforts my indefatigable old travel companion had succeeded in extending our Nan-shan surveys eastwards over an area quite as large as that mapped in 1907.

On 2 September 1914 we commenced the journey which was to carry us right across the great desert area occupied by the ranges of the Pei-shan, where its width is greatest, in the direction from south-east to north-west. The routes we followed for close on 500 miles had never been surveyed, and I knew that only at one point, the cross-roads of Ming-shui, could we expect to touch ground the position of which was known relative to the routes previously visited by Russian travellers. Wherever possible we moved in two parties and by different routes, in order to increase the extent of the area mapped. For this purpose I had secured at Mao-mei the only two guides available, both Chinese. But

their local knowledge, even when combined, proved very inadequate, and after less than half of the journey it gave out altogether. We were thus obliged to trust largely to the guidance of the faint caravan tracks traceable and to what information we opportunely obtained at the single small Mongol camp encountered. The scarcity of wells and of grazing implied serious risks in this mode of progress and made it an anxious time for me, especially as I had found the strain of riding too painful and was obliged to direct our moves from an improvised pony litter.

It was reassuring when, after passing the well of Ming-shui, the great snowy mass of the Karlik-tagh came into view, far away to the north-west, and served to direct us in the rough. But great difficulties still awaited us in the last barren hill range through which we had to make our way, owing to want of water and the very confused and, in places, rugged configuration of its valleys. It proved an easternmost extension of the T'ien-shan system. When we had safely emerged from it through narrow tortuous gorges, which ever threatened to stop our camels far away from water or grazing, it was a real relief to look down on the open Dzungarian slopes and sight some 15 miles away a tiny spot of dark trees. It was the little village of Bai, for which I had wished to make all the time, and after nearly four weeks of continuous travel it was no small satisfaction to have safely reached it without the loss of a single animal. There was reward for our troubles in the extensive plane-table surveys, supported here as all through our journeys by astronomically observed latitudes and by many careful height observations with mercurial barometer and clinometer. They will throw fresh light, I hope, on the morphology of the Pei-shan ranges.

A rapid journey subsequently carried me during October along the north foot of the eastern portion of the T'ien-shan range, already bearing its first winter snow, to Barkul and Guchen (Ku-ch'êng-tzu). The ground crossed here, topographically better known, had a special interest for me, as it helped to acquaint me with the peculiar physical conditions of a region, through which many of the great historical migrations westwards, like those of the Yüeh-chih or Indo-Scythians, Huns, and Turks, must have passed. These valleys and plateaus of Dzungaria, favoured by a climate less dry and possessed of abundant grazing-grounds, have often played an important part in the history of Eastern Turkestan. They have again and again afforded a temporary home to nomadic tribes. They could never have maintained their flocks and heards in the arid planes of the Tarim Basin, but they were always able from across the T'ien-shan to carry out their raids into it and exact tribute from its flourishing oases. I could observe a curious if faint reflex of those great tribal movements in the numerous camps of Muhammadan Kazaks, fine men of Turkish speech and descent. whom the Mongols had driven south under Chinese protection, since they secured the "independence" of Outer Mongolia.

After leaving Guchen I surveyed, near Jimasa, the remains, extensive but badly decayed, marking the site of an ancient capital of this region, which under the names of Chin-man and Pei-ting often figures in the Chinese Annals from Han to T'ang times. Its connection with the Turfan oases to the south had been a very close one from an early historical period, and as Turfan was to be my base for the winter's labours I was very glad to march there by the most direct route, hitherto unsurveyed. It led me across the Bogdo-ula range, a rugged portion of the T'ien-shan rising to numerous snowy peaks, by a pass close on 12,000 feet and once again confirmed the accuracy of the early Chinese itineraries in which this route is described.

The first week of November 1914 found the four parties into which my expedition had divided since September safely reunited at Kara-khoja, an important ancient oasis in the centre of the Turfan depression. A combination of geographical and archæological reasons had made me fix upon Turfan as the base and chief ground for our labours of the ensuing winter. It was certainly the natural and most convenient starting-place for the series of tours I was anxious to organize for the exploration of unknown or as yet inadequately surveyed portions of the Kuruk-tagh and Lop deserts to the south. I myself, ever since my brief visit of 1907, had felt drawn back to Turfan by the hope that its abundant ruins of Buddhist times were not yet completely exhausted, even though, easily accessible as they are, within or quite close to oases, they had received much attention from successive archæological expeditions, Russian, German, and Japanese. Finally, geographical and antiquarian interests united in prompting me to make an accurate large-scale survey of the Turfan Basin; for, apart from its containing in its terminal salt lake what probably is one of the deepest depressions below sea-level of our globe, there is the important fact that, within close topographical limits, and hence in a concentrated form, as it were, it exhibits all those characteristic physical features, which make its great neighbour and counterpart, the Tarim Basin, so instructive both to the geographer and historical student.

This detailed survey of the Turfan depression, on the large scale of one mile to an inch and with clinometrically observed contours, was taken in hand by Surveyor Muhammad Yakub, almost as soon as he had joined me after a difficult desert crossing from the terminal drainage basin of Hami or Kumul. A few days later I could send off R. B. Lal Singh, pining as always for fresh hard work, to the Kuruk-tagh. The rapidly increasing cold, felt even here close to sea-level, gave hope by then that he would be able to overcome the difficulties arising in those truly "Dry Mountains" from the want of drinkable water, by the use of ice formed on salt springs—or of snow if such happened to fall.

With my remaining two Indian assistants I had already started the archæological labours that were to keep us busy for the next three and a half months. The ruined town, known as Idikut-shahri, which was their first scene and adjoins Kara-khoja, has long ago been identified as the site of Kao-chang (or Khocho in early Turki), the Turfan capital during T'ang rule (seventh to eighth century A.D.) and the subsequent Uigur period. Massive walls of stamped clay enclose here an area, nearly a mile square, containing the ruins of very numerous structures, built of sun-dried bricks or clay. Most of them were Buddhist shrines and several of imposing dimensions. For generations past these débris-filled ruins have been quarried by the cultivators of the adjoining villages in search of manuring earth for their fields, and many of the smaller structures had been levelled to gain more ground for cultivation. Since the excavations made here between 1902–06 by Professors Grünwedel and Von Lecoq, of the Berlin Ethnographic Museum, the villagers had extended their destructive operations in the hope of securing manuscript remains and antiques as valuable by-products for sale to Europeans. Of such finds I was able to acquire a fair number. But it was more satisfactory to find that in some ruins deeper débris strata had escaped exploitation. Their systematic clearing was rewarded by a variety of small but interesting remains, such as fresco pieces, fragments of paintings on paper and cloth, stucco relievos, illustrating Buddhist art at Turfan. Manuscript fragments in the Uigur, Tibetan, Chinese, and Manichæan scripts were also recovered. The discovery of a hoard of well-preserved metal objects, including decorated bronze mirrors, ornaments, etc., offered special interest, as the large number of coins found with it permits the date of its deposit in Sung times to be fixed with approximate accuracy. Simultaneously with these clearings I had an exact plan of the whole site prepared.

After rapid visits to smaller sites in the eastern portion of the Turfan Basin I turned, towards the close of November, to the ruins in the picturesque gorge of Toyuk. There numerous rock-cut caves, once occupied by Buddhist priests, honeycomb precipitous cliffs rising above the small stream that waters a flourishing little oasis, famous for its grapes. Where the slopes are less steep, narrow terraces have been built, bearing small Buddhist shrines, now in ruins. At the most conspicuous of these the second German expedition had made important manuscript finds. Stimulated by these in their monkey-like emulation, native searchers for antiques had subsequently wrought terrible havoc among ruins which had before remained more or less untouched. Lower down, however, we succeeded in tracing remains of shrines which had been protected by heavy covering masses of débris, and the employment of large numbers of diggers to clear them was easy. After the difficulties to which my previous work at desert sites far away from habitations and water had accustomed me, conditions of work in the Turfan district seemed, in fact, quite "suburban," as it were. In the end we recovered at Toyuk a considerable quantity of fine frescoes and stucco relievo pieces. Fragments of Chinese and Uigur texts were numerous.

From Toyuk I proceeded by the middle of December to an important Buddhist site below the village of Murtuk. It occupies a conglomerate terrace on the steep west bank of the stream watering the Kara-khoja oasis, where it breaks in a narrow wild gorge through the barren hill range overlooking the main Turfan depression. The extensive series of ruined shrines, partly cut into the rock, had been decorated with frescoes representing scenes of Buddhist legend and worship in a great variety of subject and style. In richness and artistic merit they surpassed any similar remains in the Turfan region, and recalled the pictorial wealth of the "Thousand Buddhas" caves near Tun-huang. In 1906, Professor Grünwedel, with his intimate knowledge of Buddhist iconography and art, had carefully studied these big wall paintings, and a considerable selection of fresco panels was then removed to Berlin. For long centuries the frescoes had been liable to suffer casual injury at the hands of iconoclast Muhammadan visitors. During recent years they had been exposed to even greater damage from natives, who, in vandal fashion, cut out small pieces for sale to Europeans. The risk of further destruction in the near future was only too obvious and careful systematic removal presented the only means of saving as much as possible of these fine remains of Buddhist art. Fortunately, I could utilize for this long and difficult task the trained skill and manual experience of Naik Shams Din. Working with devoted energy, and valiantly helped by Afrazgul, he successfully accomplished it in the course of six weeks. Carefully drawn plans had been prepared for their guidance. Meanwhile I was able to pay a rapid visit to Urumchi, the provincial headquarters, where I had the great satisfaction of seeing again my old Mandarin friend, learned P'an Ta-jên, then holding high office as Financial Commissioner of the 'New Dominion.' As on my former journeys he did his best to help me in my scientific aims.

Early in January 1915, work had progressed sufficiently to allow me to apply myself to the clearing of smaller Buddhist ruins near Murtuk, and then to a task which proved as fruitful as it was to me novel and in some ways unpleasant. Below the debouchure of the gorge which brings down the streams of Murtuk and Sengim, and above the large village of Astana adjoining Kara-khoja from the west, there extends over the gravel-covered waste a vast ancient burial-ground. It is marked by small mounds covered with stones and by low lines of embanked gravel which enclose these mounds to form scattered groups. The mounds

indicate the position of tomb chambers which are cut into the underlying hard layer of fine conglomerate or sandstone. A narrow rock-cut passage, originally filled in again, led deep down to the entrance of each tomb, which itself was closed with a wall. Most of these tombs appear to have been searched for valuables during the last Muhammadan rebellion, and probably also earlier. But drift-sand had completely closed up the passages of approach, and only during the last few years had the tombs attracted attention from local antique-hunters. Their operations had not proceeded far, and gave anyhow useful assurance as to the absence of any local prejudices.

Willing labour could be secured in plenty, and made easy the opening of very numerous tombs in rapid succession. The systematic search of each has conclusively demonstrated that the cemetery dates from the early T'ang period, and mainly the seventh century A.D. Then Kao-chang, the present Turfan, was an important administrative centre and garrison of the Chinese after their reconquest of Eastern Turkestan. Exact dates, names of persons, and other details are furnished by the Chinese inscriptions on bricks, which were found intact near the approaches of many tombs. Their decipherment by my distinguished Sinologue collaborator, M. Chavannes, is likely to clear up the question as to whether the tombs were occupied exclusively by Chinese or contained also dead from among the indigenous population. Without a detailed examination and comparison of all these finds and observations, which may not be possible for some time, it would be premature to interpret the interesting burial customs revealed by these tombs; nor can I find space here to discuss them and their variations.

The dryness of the Turfan climate accounts for the remarkable state of preservation in which most of the bodies and the objects deposited with them were found. The latter comprised a great variety of articles of food, dress, personal use and the like, which the dead were supposed to need. Among them I may mention pastry of many shapes, showing familiar Indian ornamental motifs; boxes with ladies' toilet outfits, arms, etc. Whether of actual size, or reproduced in miniature, these objects, together with the painted stucco figurines representing attendants, richly caparisoned horses, household animals etc., acquaint us with many aspects of the daily life led in Turfan at that period. I cannot pause to give details. It must suffice to record that the archæological spoil has been as varied as it was abundant. But I may at least briefly refer to finds strikingly illustrating the position which Turfan and probably other oases of Chinese Turkestan occupied at that period, as places of trade exchange between Western Asia and China. Thus we found Byzantine gold pieces regularly placed, much in the fashion of the classical obolus, in the mouth of the dead, and Sassanian silver coins over their eyes. The custom of wrapping up the bodies in torn pieces of manifold garments has provided us with a rich collection of fine silk materials. Among these there is a curious abundance of brocades and other decorated fabrics showing designs which are usually associated with Persian work of Sassanian times. Paintings on silk, too, were found, meant to decorate the dwellings of the dead, and a quantity of manuscript records, mainly Chinese.

Interesting and fruitful as this search was, I felt a strong longing for a chance of resuming exploratory tasks in the open air of the desert. But my leg had not yet recovered from the accident in the summer, and could not face long tramps such as a return to the wastes of the Lop Desert would have necessitated. So I had to be content with what satisfaction Lal Singh's safe return towards the close of January from his expedition into the 'Dry Mountains' brought me. In the face of great physical difficulties and risks he had accomplished important survey work. After reaching Singer, the only permanent homestead in that vast area of barren plateaus and hills, he had started triangulation; and in accordance with my instructions carried it south-east to the vicinity of the Lou-lan ruins in the wind-eroded desert. His patient wait there for a week, amidst icy gales and with temperatures falling well below zero Fahrenheit, was rewarded when the dust-laden atmosphere cleared at last and allowed him to connect his triangles with previously 'fixed' high peaks of the snowy K'un-lun range from 150 miles south. Thus it became possible later on to realize my hope of getting the Indian triangulation system extended by this link to the Tien-shan range in the north.

With Abdur Rahim, the experienced hunter of wild camels from Singer, whose help had proved so valuable to us a year before, Lal Singh had then pushed into the unexplored and absolutely sterile region to the north-east of Altmish-bulak. His fuel supply had given out for several days, and he had to brave the severe cold of the nights without a fire before he decided to turn again westwards from beyond 91 long. He then picked up an old desert track once used by hunters of wild camels from Hami, before certain salt springs had dried up, and followed it down to the salt marsh that forms the deepest part of the Turfan Basin There he took numerous observations with the mercurial barometer which, I hope, will make it possible to determine its depression below sea-level with greater accuracy. In spite of all he had gone through, Lal Singh allowed himself but a brief rest at our base, and by the first week of February set out afresh for the Kuruk-tagh.

The packing of our plentiful "archæological proceeds" from Turfan had cost great efforts. But at last, on February 6, I could start my big convoy of antiques, making up fifty camel-loads, under Ibrahim Beg's care for its two months' journey to Kashgar. On the same day, I sent off Afrazgul Khan to the Lop Desert for a supplementary survey of the Lou-lan region and the dried-up ancient sea-bed to the east and south. I myself proceeded to Yar-khoto for a detailed survey of this curious site, where a maze of ruin dwellings and shrines, carved out of the loess soil of an isolated and naturally strong plateau, represents the remains of the earlier Turfan capital during Han times. Some days more were taken up by arrangements for the completion of the large-scale map of the Turfan depression in six sheets and by the collection of supplementary data bearing on its extant irrigation resources. Their comparison with those which must be assumed to have existed in Buddhist times is made particularly instructive by the fact that now the greater portion of the cultivated area is irrigated from *karezes* or springs tapped by underground canals, a system which is known to have been introduced into Turfan only during the eighteenth century. My last days at Turfan were made somewhat anxious by a renewed attempt at Chinese obstruction, now directed against my archæological activity. Fortunately this time, too, I was on the point of starting into desert parts where no interference with my plans was practicable, and the safe transit of my antique collection, about which I had reason to feel apprehensive, was secured by the prompt steps my old friend, Sir George Macartney, took to parry the stroke from Provincial headquarters.

(*To be continued.*)

RELIGION IN SIND.

BY G. E. L. CARTER, I.C.S., HYDERABAD.

THE fact that a religion has no literature whatever is no reason why an attempt at elucidating its mysteries should not be undertaken. In Sind religion in a large measure takes the place which caste does elsewhere in India, and local cults are the nuclei around which society becomes concrete. Such cults are of all ages, from that of the Sun as the first giver of heat to that of the Blessed Virgin Mary, which seems to be a relic of Portuguese missionary enterprise. The essentially Sindhi cults, however, are based on the two principles of a male fertilising element in the River and a female reproductive element in "Nature" or vegetation, as an examination of a number will show.

Let us begin with the cult of Shekh Tâbir, as recorded in the *Tuhfatul-kirâm*, an unpublished history of Sind, dated A. D. 1768 "Jâhejo is well known for the *dargâh* of Shekh Tâhir, who is called Uderolâl by Hindus. Intoxicated with the wine of Divinity he spent the early part of his life in roaming through a desert. One day when he was holding something to eat in his hand a camel suddenly appeared on the scene. Observing the camel with his inward spiritual eye he addressed it thus:—'Oh God, since thou hast appeared before me in this form, deign to share my food with me.' The camel, however, would not stop and the Shekh persisted in following it, until at last the Shekh attained fame and spiritual greatness. The fact is the Sheikh had been blessed with a wonderful vision. Many pilgrims and visitors go to his shrine. On appointed days the shrine is also visited by a large number of betrothed and married females from far and near."

So was one Musalman version of a cult peculiarly Hindu. The cult of the river Indus. Darya-panth. is indeed so peculiarly Hindu that that only Sindhi Lohanas are its votaries. The cult, so far as I have ascertained, is one of pure ritual and that of the simplest. Regular monthly ceremonies and occasional annual ones complete the tale. Its chief features are the perpetual burning of lights on an altar in an otherwise empty Holy of Holies, and the ceremonial worship of the river at evening time on the days of the new and full moon. On those days the lamps are tended, trimmed and cleaned and ceremonial oblations are offered. The formal address to the Deity is "*Lahar bahar jâ Sâin meharbâni de*—Master of the waves, grant a favour."

In various parts of Sind the cult of the River has become slightly localised. Just as the Deity at "Uderolâl" has been converted for the benefit of Mussalmans to Sheikh Tâbir, so at Sukkur Zinda Pir—the living God—has become Khwaja Khizr and near Tatta, Shah Jhando, the saviour ferryman. At Bohara, on the Baghâr canal, the Deity is addressed as Wâman Jianti Har Vasso. Here on the morning of 10th Bado the Darya-panthis make boats of straw and set them afloat on the river. The boats contain small country lamps, made of the dough of wheat flour in which *ghî* is burnt as oil, and also small plates of dough containing rice and curds.

Uderolâl, Lal Wadero, the Holy Chieftain, is the incarnation of the River God. His 'vehicle' is the *pulla*. In times of stress Uderolâl emerges from the River, an armed and gallant knight, to rescue his people from oppression.

Two fragments of lore may illustrate the popular attitude to the cult. The *pulla* is never found north of Sukkur. It comes up the river only to do homage at Khwaja Khizr's shrine and, having done so, it returns to the sea, always with its face towards the shrine. It is never found with its head down stream. Again, when the River erodes its banks, it is said that Khwaja Khizr is sending earth (fertility, wealth) to his brother Iliâs (Elijah), who lives in a desert, and that these two with Nabi. Isa (Jesus), who lives in the firmament above the earth, constitute one Trinity. (This is a Baloch distorted version of the cult.)

Two points in connection with the history of the cult must be remembered. (*a*) Muhammadanism on two occasions made serious attempts at proselytising Hinduism: one on the occasion of the Arab conquest of Sind (eighth century) and one in the thirteenth century under the influence of the Multani Revival. The two best examples are the modification of the Raja Gopichand cult in the first period and the desecration of the Śaiva altar at Sehwan in the second. (*b*) A fragment of pottery discovered by the writer at Mirpur Khas bears paintings of a fish (?) *pulla* The place, where it was found, is that of the fourth century Stupa which stood on the bank of an old river (Dhoro Purano).

Now let us turn to the cult of the crocodile, *wâgho* the wild beast. It is not an uncommon thing to find a close connection between a *pir* and crocodiles, so close in fact that the local Musalmans resent any attempt at shooting the protected beasts—though every effort may be made to extirpate those not protected. The classic case is, of course, that of Mangho Pîr—'Magar' Pîr—just outside Karachi; but there are others. In some places, even where there is now no crocodile, tradition keeps alive the story by dubbing the locality *wâghodâr*, the crocodile's door or lair. There is the one near Rerhi, one at Amîrpir, north of Tatta, and one, fourteen miles east of Hyderabad on the Dhoro Phital, an *abandoned* river bed. It cannot be pretended for one moment that respect for the crocodile is Musalman; such zoolatry finds no place in Islam. One must look for its origin locally. One reads for instance in Burnes (*Bokhara*, p. 46) that "the Sailors of Sinde are Mahommedans. They are very superstitious; the sight of a crocodile below Hyderabad is an evil omen, which would never be forgotten:" and also that along different lengths of the river propitiatory offerings had to be made to avert malignant influences. Now one finds among the sacrificial symbols in use in the Lar an occasional brass *makara* head.

Now, when one turns to consider Vegetation cults, one finds a close association in several aspects with femininiy. Midway between Tatta and Mirpur Sakro is a tomb, the central place of the cult of Pîr Jhareon—*jhareon* being in fact a feminine plural word meaning trees. While it is customary at various burial places to hold on fixed days in the month commemorative services at which all present partake of a kind of Agape, to which all have contributed something, the common meal being divided in charity among those present, it is regarded as a ridiculous custom—*i. e.*, by outsiders—that those present at Pir Jhareon's festival should eat such a *stupid* kind of food as they do Here the Agape consists of a dish made of grain of all kinds—*jawari, bajri,* barley, rice, pulses,—steeped in milk. Not only do Hindus respect the Pîr, but, regardless of caste, partake of the

common dish at the monthly festival. Now the Pîr's *khalîfa* is a *woman* of the Hingora Clan.

Of course there is a story that Pir Jhareon's real name was Sultan Hussain and that he is a Hussaini Sayyid who came here direct from Mecca, where he had earned his name by performing menial work at the Holy Places —as if his name should be Pir of Dusters. The Multani proselytising influence can be discovered in the alleged date of his death, A. H. 666.

An independent form of the cult of Pir Jhareon survives in Ghorabari Taluka just outside the boundaries of the modern Deh Jhareon. The shrine or 'place' of Mai Pir is situated near the R. Richhal. In form it is a coppice enclosed by a low bank of earth about 100 yards in circumference, within which bounds no man is allowed to set foot. Even the Khalifa must send his wife in, if he wishes any work to be done inside; for the Mai Sahib was a virgin and a man's coming would defile her place. The shrine itself is a rude hut from the roof of which a score of cattle bells hang. Two stone *chirâghs* and the inevitable flag complete the furniture. Rice is the only food divided in charity and portions from the common dish are scattered about for jackals and other wild animals to partake of. As at Pir Jhareon's place, the monthly festival is held on the first Monday of each month. The emblematic tree is dead and fallen. It was formerly inside the bank of earth, and to solve the problem of eliminating dead wood without removing it (for as will be seen below it is sacrosanct) the bank was "repaired" and rebuilt so that the fallen trunk may lie outside the enclosed holy spot.

At Bohara "Bibi Syed's Tomb" is just such another place, though there the cult has been merged with the Ashura rites—a feast of tabernacles, celebrated at Muharram time. Here there is no tomb, no monthly festival. A tree, dead but standing, is enclosed by a low bank of earth, within which no one is allowed.

Among Hindus in Sind two festivals call for notice in this connection. On the 12th of Srawan Sudi the *women* of a house sow in a pot seven kinds of grain -whence Sâtâno, the name of the festival. After seven days the seedlings are plucked up and thrown into the *river* for luck. It must be remembered that at this season the Indus is in full flood, irrigating the whole countryside.

Three days later occurs a strange ceremony, obviously a revolt against the eternal prayers for children and wealth. At evening time Hindu boys and girls repair to the fields and throw grain and mud images of bullocks among the crops reciting this verse :—

کانؤ وڻ چڙهيو ڏي اُباسي؛

مان نہ ڪَتان ڪَتي مُهنجي ماسي.

This is usually understood to mean :- —"Crow, climb a tree and yawn; let my aunt (*mâsi*) weave, not me"—deriving ڪَتان from ڪَتَڻ to weave. This however, makes nonsense and the word should be derived from ڪَت, which is now only used with

devotee across the Pamban. Festivals in honour of his favourite god never tired him. On one occasion he vowed that the revenue of one whole season's pearl fishery should be devoted to the adorning of the image. Almost every year saw the grant of extensive lands and estates to the temple. The orthodoxy of Raghunâtha secured from his suzerain Vijaya Raṅga Chokkanâtha the image of Durga, for whose reception he built a temple at Râmnâḍ, which attracted thousands of pilgrims. An idol of the Brahmans, Raghunâtha had a veneration for Vedic rites and ceremonials, thereby reviving the ancient days of Hinduism.

His persecution of Christians.

It is not surprising that, under the regime of such an orthodox ruler, there came into existence a period of vehement opposition to the proselytising labours[71] of the Christian fathers. During the last years of Kilavan, the missionaries of Christ had enjoyed not only perfect freedom of worship, but a felicitous opportunity for active proselytism. Hundreds of people had forsaken the religion of the gods and of their ancestors. The spread of Christianity alarmed the orthodox, and their agitation converted Vijaya Raghunâtha from a passive spectator into a zealous persecutor. The prospects of the religion of Christ became gloomy, but the timely support of a prominent member of the royal family saved it from ruin. The Sêtupati had an elder brother, Vaḍuha Nâtha, who felt in the doctrines of Christianity greater chances of salvation than in the worship of the Hindu gods. So zealous was he in his belief that he gave up all his prospects and ambitions, and became a Christian. The position and the character of the illustrious convert was a tower of strength to the Fathers, and though their recent period of prosperity did not return, yet the future was not absolutely dark and clouded.

The rebellion of Bhavâ i and Toṇḍaman.

Great as Vijaya Raghunâtha was as a man of God, he was equally great as a soldier. His martial activity was a matter of necessity; for the repose of his rule was constantly disturbed by the intrigues of his rival, Bhavâni Saṅkara, a man whose unusually sanguine temperament scoffed at failures and persevered in his aim of acquiring the crown. The Sêtupati in self-defence divided his kingdom into 72 military divisions, placing each under a feudal chief who paid service instead of tribute. He established a chain of forts throughout the realm,—at Râjaśiṅgamaṅgalam, Orûr, Arantâṅgi, Tirupattûr, Kamerdy and Pâmban. He organized an artillery service, his two guns, Râma and Lakshmaṇa, being a terror to his adversaries and an inspiration to his own soldiers. An Army so zealously maintained could not but bring success to the Sêtupati arms, and from Tiruvâlûr in the North to the District of Tinnevelly in the South he reigned supreme. However, in 1720, Bhavâni obtained the assistance of the Toṇḍamân and the Maratha king of Tanjore once again attempted the recovery of his crown. The combined armies of Pudukkôṭṭai and Tanjore soon encamped at Arantâṅgi. The Sêtupati promptly marched against them, and defeated them, but when he was about to return an epidemic of a virulent nature broke out in the camp. The dread visitant struck down a large number of men and then seized the royal family. Eight children and eight wives of the Sêtupati succumbed to it, and soon the Sêtupati himself became a victim. At the point of death he was taken to Râmnâḍ, only to breathe his last there.

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[71] Nelson and Chandler.

The death and character of Vijaya Raghunâtha.

The death of Vijaya Raghunâtha was[72] a great calamity to Râmnâḍ. A good and able ruler, he had endeared himself to his people. No doubt there were defects in his character. For instance he was, like most of the chiefs of his day, a votary of pleasure. His harem contained the large number of 360 women and 100 children, though, strangely enough, none of the latter survived him to inherit his throne. His epicurean nature is also seen in the construction of the Râmaliṅga Vilâsa, a long and elaborately worked hall, adorned by scenes of Marava warfare and of Kṛishṇa's life, at the expense of a Musalman Sayad, Kadir Marakkayar. In addition to the unduly excessive pursuit of pleasure, Vijaya Raghunâtha had been characterised by an extraordinary vanity and love of praise. A curious story illustrates the zeal with which he looked on those who surpassed him in renown. His beneficence to Râmêśvaram had the effect of attracting an enormous number of pilgrims and, in their wake, the wealthy merchants of Malabar, Cochin and Benares. To assist these Raghunâtha appointed the husband of his two daughters as the commandant of the Pâmban fort. He was expressly ordered to help the pilgrims in their passage over the channel, then across the sands of the island, to Dhanushkôṭi. The commandant was a man of wisdom and practical genius. He levied a small boat-duty on all those who went from the mainland to the island, and used the proceeds in the construction of a stone road across the sands. With tactless imprudence, the author of this monument called it after his own name. The small mind of Vijaya Raghunâtha could not endure this. Believing that his honour was scorned, he ordered the decapitation of his son-in-law! The prayers and remonstrances of his daughters did not move his stony heart, and they preferred death to widowhood by ascending the funeral pyre of their lord. The memory of the noble husband and the nobler princesses is even to-day preserved by the Akkâḷ and Thaṅgachchi *maḍams*, reared on their ashes, in the weary road from Pâmban to Râmêśvaram; and the service which the choultries render to the exhausted pilgrims has been, ever since their tragic death, the best index of their lord's minds.

War of Succession between Bhavâni Saṅkara and Taṇḍa Têvan.

The death of Vijaya Raghunâtha was immediately followed by a dispute in succession. At the point of death he had nominated Taṇḍa Têvan, a great grandson of Kiḷavan's father, as his successor. But the confusion caused by Vijaya Raghunâtha's death was availed of by Bhavâni Saṅkara Têvan to once again aim at the crown of which he had been deprived. His struggle against Raghunâtha had been a struggle of selfish ambition against popular support, of illegitimacy against legitimacy, and it had ended in failure. Now, as against Taṇḍa Têvan, Bhavâni was under no comparative disadvantage. The former had as remote a claim to the throne as himself. It seems that popular sympathy also turned at this time in his favour. At the same time he gained a new resource and a friend by his politic marriage with a niece of the chief mistress of Vijaya Raghunâtha. The consequence was, he was able enough to effect a *coup d'état*, to deprive Taṇḍa Têvan of his short tenure of power, and assume the title of Sêtupati, a title which had been bestowed upon him by Kiḷavan Sêtupati nearly a decade back. But Taṇḍa Têvan had tasted power, and would not give up what he considered his birthright. Driven out of Râmnâḍ, he proceeded to Madura, and pursuaded Vijaya Raṅga Chokkanâtha to take up his cause. At the same time he gained over the Toṇḍamân, lately the

[72] *Antiquities*, II. 230-1

ally and the dupe of Bhavâni Saṅkara—for the latter had not ceded to him certain villages he had promised for his assistance—by promising him to cede the village of Kiḻânilai and the important fortress of Tirumaiyam. The confederate army then came near Arantâṅgi, and here for a second time the possession of the Râmnâḍ crown was contested. The allies had the advantage of numbers and of strength, and Bhavâni Saṅkara was defeated and had to flee for his life to the Tanjore court. Here he pleaded, with success, his cause before the Maratha, and gained his alliance by promising to surrender, as its price, the whole of the Râmnâḍ kingdom to the north of the Pâmban river. Three months after this treaty, a formidable Maratha army was at the foot of the fortifications of Râmnâḍ. Taṇḍa Têvan had taken due precautions. He had once again applied for and obtained the help of Madura and Pudukkôṭṭai. In the war which followed the valour and conduct of the Tanjore general, Ânanda Rao Peishwa, obtained two signal victories. In the first he vanquished the Madura men and prevented their junction with their confederates; in the second, he vanquished the Toṇḍamân and captured two of his sons. The latter thereupon concluded peace, and withdrew from the contest. The victorious general then laid siege to Râmnâḍ, and before long entered it. Bhavâni Saṅkara thus triumphed. The pride of conquest was, according to one version, not blended with the spirit of moderation, and Bhavâni Saṅkara incurred the odium of posterity by putting his rival to death.

Bhavâni's success and misrule.

So ended the long struggle of Bhavâni Saṅkara for the Marava crown. He had twice got it and lost it, but now, after the seizure and death of Taṇḍa Têvan, his triumph was complete. For nine years he governed the kingdom in peace, but at the end of that period ill-luck and imprudence resulted not only in the loss of his crown, but the dismemberment of his kingdom. Bhavâni's name was very unpopular among his vassals and Polygars. His cession of a large part of Râmnâḍ to Tanjore caused discontent. The exercise of a little tact would have silenced opposition and overcome zealousy; but Bhavâni was wanting in that indispensable virtue. The feudatories therefore rose against him. Their leader was one Saśivarṇa Periya Uḍaya Têvan, a Hercules in valour, who was the Polygar of Veḷḷikôṭṭai, one of the eight divisions of Vijaya Raghunâtha. He was indeed connected by marriage with the Sêtupati, but the tie of blood had been irrevocably snapped by oppression on the one hand and hatred on the other. The rising however was premature. Saśivarṇa was defeated, deprived of his estate, and compelled to seek safety abroad. He went to the Court of Tanjore, and there made friends with Kâtta Têvan, the Polygar of Arantâṅgi, and the uncle of the unfortunate Taṇḍa Têvan who had, after the tragic death of nephew, sought his refuge in the Tanjore kingdom. The two chiefs then planned together for the overthrow of their common enemy. Their first work was to induce, by extravagant promises, the Tanjore king to give them help. The story goes that the Tanjore king was unwilling to overthrow a man whose greatness had been his own work, but that he was compelled to do so by a word which he accidently uttered. Either the desire to get rid of his guest's pressure or the joviality of a drinking bout made him promise assistance to Saśivarṇa in case he entered the cage of a fierce tiger. To the Marava Hercules, however, the fight with a tiger was a pastime. Entering the cage, he fought with the tiger and killed it. Unable to withdraw from his word, the surprised king of Tanjore placed a large army at the disposal of Saśivarṇa and Kattaya. His ambition, however, had taken care to obtain from them the promise of the lands to the North of the Pâmban in case of success.

His Tragic End.

The plan of the confederates was a well-devised one. The two chieftains bound themselves by a mutual agreement that, after the recovery of Râmnâḍ from their adversary, the kingdom south of the Pámban was to be divided into five divisions, and that three of them were to go to Kaṭṭa Têvan and the other two to Śasivarṇa. The Tanjore general Ânanda Rao Peshwa,[73] was immediately after the fulfilment of his task to receive the territory. north of the Pâmban. These arrangements completed, a Tanjore army soon found itself in 1729 within the territory of Râmnâḍ. Bhavâni Śaṅkara had not been unprepared. He marched to meet the allies, but in the battle at Orûr he was signally defeated and taken prisoner, and taken to Tanjore in irons.

The Partition of Râmnâḍ.

With the tragic end of Bhavâni Śaṅkara, the history of a united Râmnâḍ ends. Henceforward it became divided into two estates, one of which continued under the old name of Râmnâḍ and the other under that of Sivagaṅga. The head of the former continued to be styled the Sêtupati. The chiefs of the post-partition period were obscure chieftains as compared with the predecessor of Bhavâni Śaṅkara, whose valour had defied, often with success, the armies of Tanjore, of Madura and Pudukkôṭṭai. With the loss of union power was lost, and the Sêtupati, once a rival to Tanjore and a terror to Pudukkôṭṭai, was from this time a Zemindar of minor status and worn out prestige. In fact, Râmnâḍ became less powerful than its child, Sivagaṅga; for the latter, though smaller in size, was more fertile by nature, and with the advance of time the sterility of the bigger province was not overcome, while the fertility of the smaller was improved.

It is thus a strange coincidence that Râmnâd, as a united power, was a power only so long as Madura was a united power under the Nâiks. For, within a decade of the partition of Râmnâd, the dynasty in Madura was, as we shall see presently, to fall, and both were to come under dominance of the Nawab of Arcot.

CHAPTER X.

Queen Mînâkshi (1731-1737)[74] and the Extinction of the Naik Râj.

On the death of Vijaya Raṅga Chokkanâtha, the Puritan, his queen Mînâkshi, a figure around whose name and career a good deal of pathetic and melancholy interest has gathered, assumed the duties of government. Wilks[75] says, on what authority I have not been able to discover, that Mînâkshi was the surviver of his three wives (the two others having committed *sati*)--an arrangement, he says, due to the dying king's communication to his confidential minister that his eldest queen should succeed him to the government.

[73] He was the minister of the Tanjore kings, from 1686 to 1736,—the Anandarâyamakhin of literary fame. An inscription of Kôṭṭûr (463 of 1912), of year *Śubhakrit* says that he gave a grant to the local temple. *Madr. Ep. Rep.*, 1913, p. 130.

[74] The date of her accession is, as usual, different in different chronicles. According to the *Carna. Govrs*, she came in S. 1644, *Virôdhikrit* (1732); to the *Pand. Chron.* in *Virôdhikrit Mâsi*; but according to the *Telugu Chron.*, in 1669. The last is of course wrong. Calicavi Râyan's Account gives Maṅgammâl in place of Mînâkshi and attributes 5 years. This is, of course, wrong. For epigraphical evidence we have a grant (in Telugu) of land for a charity in Trichinopoly in 1732 (K. 4833, *Pramâdicha*) and another at Samayâvaram in 1733. In both Vîraveṅkatadêva of Ghânagiri is said to be suzerain.

[75] Wilks I. p. 155. Wilks' account of the circumstances of the Muhammadan advent is very meagre and dismissed in a page. It is necessarily very deficient and inadequate.

Trichinopoly; but to prevent suspicions, the collection of the tribute was given out as the only intention of the expedition, and the army was ordered to move leisurely down to the sea coast before they proceeded to the south; accordingly they came to Madras, where they remained[84] some days, and then went to Pondicheri, where they stayed a longer time; during which Chanda Sahib laid the first foundation of his connections with the French Government in that city; from hence they marched to Trichinopoly." The Jesuit missionaries, as shewn by[85] Nelson, ascribe an even more barefaced ambition to the Nawab. They say that he was really desirous of creating a principality at the expense of his tributary kingdoms for his son, and that with this view he sent an army on a sort of roving commission against Tanjore, Trichinopoly and Travancore. The imperial army first stormed and captured Tanjore[86] and placed it under Bode Sahib, the brother of Chanda Sahib. It then marched south, towards the regions of the Vaigai and Tambraparni, attacked Travancore, laid waste the West coast and at length reached Trichinopoly. Wilks gives a different version. He says that Baṅgâru Tirumala and Veṅkaṭarâghavâchârya made themselves, "with the concealed aid, of the Mahratta Raja of Tanjore," so formidable that Mînâkshi "was driven to the desperate resource of soliciting the aid of the Nawab of Arcot. An army under the command of Safder Ali, the eldest son and heir-apparent of the Nawab, with Chanda Sahib as his Civil Dewan and military second in command, moved over the province, ostensibly for the ordinary purpose of enforcing the collections of the revenue, and approached Trichinopoly to afford the promised[87] aid."

Safdar Ali's Decision against Mînâkshi.

All these authorities thus, while differing in details, agree, in that Trichinopoly was the ultimate goal of the imperialists. The arrival of the Muhammadans struck terror into the hearts of both the parties there. The most prudent policy would have been to ignore for the time all domestic quarrels and engage the common foe with one mind and interest. But the shortsighted ambition of both the parties stood in the way of united action and patriotic defence. We do not know who was the first[88] to call in the Musalman help. The *Hist. of the Carna. Govrs.* ascribes the crime to Mînâkshi; but Mr. Nelson, contrary to its evidence, attributes the initiative to Baṅgâru Tirumala. With an inordinate haste to claim the favour of early submission, he says, he sent a deputation to Safdar Ali proposing that, in case the latter seized Mînâkshi, kept her in captivity, and handed over the kingdom to himself, he would satisfy the greedy appetite of the Musalmans by paying 30 lakhs of rupees. Safdar Ali agreed, and would have fulfilled his agreement but for the timely precaution which Mînâkshi in her instinct of self-preservation had taken. With a numerous and faithful band of followers, she awaited, in the citadel of Trichinopoly, the attack of the Muhammadans with calm determination. Safdar did not think it possible, or

[84] *Madu. Manual.*

[85] *Ibid.*

[86] It must have been under the rule of Tukoji, the 3rd son of Venkoji, the founder of the dynasty. For details see *Tanjore Manual; Tanjore Gazr.*, pp. 44-45.

[87] Wilks, I, p. 155.

[88] The Madura chronicles generally speak as though Safdar Ali and Chanda Sahib came from Arcot purposely to decide the dispute between Mînâkshi and Baṅgâru. This is not accurate; for we have already seen that they had other motives and attractions.

perhaps advisable, to force his way through such an obstacle. He was convinced either of the futility of his valour or, what was more probable, of the expediency of diplomacy in place of force. He therefore changed his tactics, assumed ingeniously the rôle of an arbitrator, and called on the two parties to submit their disputes to his decision. After a full enquiry into the justice of the claims of the respective parties, he decided that the fort and the kingdom belonged as of right to Baṅgâru ; that as Mînâkshi was childless, she and her brothers had no claim to the administration : that being the dowager-queen, she must be given all those attentions which had been given in the time of Vijaya Raṅga Chokkanâtha : that her brother and other followers should be similarly treated ; that the jewels, etc., and the money which formed her own property should be hers ; and, as for the rest, the palace. the treasury, elephants, horses, etc.,—these should be handed over to Baṅgâru Tirumala. Safdar Ali Khan further settled the tribute at 30 lakhs of rupees, and fixed the time of payment : all of which he got in writing from[89] Baṅgaru."

Mînâkshi's Alliance with Chanda Sahib.

It was a decision, in Mr. Taylor's opinion,[90] highly equitable though not disinterested. But to Minâkshi, its justice or impartiality would hardly have appealed. She accordingly, we may be sure, hesitated or refused to acknowledge and bow to it : and Safdar Ali, seeing that the condition of affairs[91] was not likely to be easily settled, left the enforcement of his decision to his brother-in-law, Chanda Sahib, and withdrew to his capital. The partisans of Minâkshi then approached Chanda Sahib and proposed that, if he left Trichinopoly in her hands and recognised her to be the lawful ruler, they would pay him, what he demanded, a crore of rupees. Not satisfied with the words of the Muhammadan general, they insisted with caution that he should take the oath of alliance and fidelity with the Koran in his hands on the banks of the sacred Kâveri. Chanda Sahib, with ready and characteristic unscrupulouses, resolved to resort to an act of deceit, and realise his object of seizing Trichinopoly for himself. He therefore readily agreed to take the oath, but at the nick of time placed skilfully and stealthily, if we are to believe Col. Wilks, a brick, hidden under splendid and glittering coverings, in place of the holy Koran, and with a face of solemn honesty and sincere loyalty, swore in the presence of Perumâḷ Nâiḍu, in the Daḷavâi Maṇṭapa, absolute and unswerving support to the queen's[92] cause. The simple and incredulous mind of Mînâkshi was immensely satisfied with this proof, and she at once threw open the gates of the city to her ally. She little dreamed that what she considered to be the irrevocable words of an honest man were sham demonstrations of affected loyalty.

(To be continued.)

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89 *Hist. of the Carna. Govrs.* Wilson also mentions the same thing, but he does not speak about Safdar Ali's tactics. He simply says that he decided in Baṅgâru's favour.

90 *O. H. MSS*, II.

91 Wilson's account of the whole affair is superficial.

92 The *Hist. of the Carna. Govrs.* says that he simply took the oath to that effect. The Telugu *Carna. Dynas.* says that he took it with the Koran. Wilks says that it was not really the Koran, but brick. (Wilks, I., p. 155).

MISCELLANEA.

KÂLIDASA AND KAMANDAKA.

THE date of Kâmandaka has not yet been established. But it may be shown, that he lived before Kâlidâsa, inasmuch as the latter seems to have utilised the former's work *Nîtisâra*. The 35th *śloka* of the 4th canto of the *Raghuvaṁśam* runs thus:

Anamrâṇâṁ samuddhartus-tasmât sindhurayâd-iva
Âtmâ saṁrakṣitaḥ Suhmaiḥ vṛittim-âśritya vaitasim.

Compare the above with the following quotation from *Kâmandakîya*:[1]

Samâkrânto balavatâ kâṅksh-ann-abhramśinîṁ śriyaṁ
Śrayeta vaitasiṁ vṛittiṁ na bhaujaṅgîṁ kadâchana.

From the above it is evident, that Kâlidâsa borrowed from *Kâmandakîya* the passage relating to the policy to be adopted by a weak ruler, if he is confronted with a stronger foe. Now *Kâmandakîya* is based upon Kauṭilya's *Arthaśâstra*, in which also this policy is described.[2] But the language Kauṭilya used to express it is quite different from that used by Kâmandaka. In the place of the former's *vetasadharmâ tisthet* there is *śrayeta vaitasiṁ vṛittim* in *Kâmandakîya*. These two passages, though expressing the same view, differ greatly in phraseology. There is, on the other hand, only a slight difference between the expression used by Kâmandaka and that used by Kâlidâsa. Therefore, it stands to reason, that Kâlidâsa borrowed from Kâmandaka and that he must be placed after Kâmandaka.

I may here take the opportunity to refer to the note contributed by Mr. P. V. Kane to this journal,[3] in which he tried to show that Kâmandaka is posterior to Kâlidâsa. In two *ślokas*[4] Kâlidâsa mentions certain advantages of hunting. But Kâmandaka's view of hunting is one of pessimism. He quotes a favourable view which is held by others and according to which hunting should be practised by a Prince; and he also mentions in this connection the advantages which, they say, are the direct results of hunting.[5] Now these advantages are the same as those selected by Kâlidâsa. Kâmandaka, who is no admirer of hunting, condemns it, saying that it is the source of many evils, and as such ought not to be indulged in by kings for their own benefit. Now Mr. Kane concludes from this, that Kâmandaka here criticises the view of Kâlidâsa. "The advantages of hunting selected by *Kâmandakîya Nîtisâra*," he says, "are almost the same as those pointed out by Kâlidâsa. It seems, therefore, that Kâmandaka criticises the views of Kâlidâsa." But it should be noticed that almost all the advantages of hunting that are set forth in the *Nîtisâra* are also to be found in the *Arthaśâstra*. In the *Purushavyasanavarga* Kauṭilya says:

"*Mṛigayâyâṁ tu vyâyâmaḥ śleshma-pitta-medasvedanâśaḥ chale sthire cha kâye lakshaparichayaḥ kopasthâne hitesu cha mṛigâṇâṁ chittajñânamanityayânaṁ cheti.*" *Arthaśâstra*. 327.

Kâmandaka, whose work is an epitome of the *Arthaśâstra* writes:—

Jitaśramatvaṁ vyayâmaḥ âma-meda-kapha-kshayaḥ
Chalasthireshu lakshyeṣu bâṇasiddhiranuttamâ.

Nîtisâra, 216.

Thus it is clear, that there is no reason to believe that Kâmandaka ever criticises Kâlidâsa, when we find that almost all the merits of hunting mentioned by Kâmandaka and also by Kâlidâsa had already been described by Kauṭilya in his *Arthaśâstra*. We cannot infer, therefore, that Kâmandaka is posterior to Kâlidâsa. On the other hand, because in describing the defeat of the Suhmas, Kâlidâsa quotes the very language of *Nîtisâra*, we are justified in placing him after Kâmandaka.

NANIGOPAL MAJUMDAR.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

NOTES FROM OLD FACTORY RECORDS.

6. A present to an official.

13 *November* 1682. Consultation at Masulipatam. The Carkana of this Towne or Sub Governour wanting 3 yards of Broadcloth for a Pallenkeene Pingerree. [*panjar, pânjrî, pinjrî*, framework, skeleton], sent to the Factory to buy it, but he being an officer that doth petty Justice, and some times our people upon severall small differences are forced to apply themselves to him, who has allwayes behaved him selfe to us Civilly and respectfully, and the better to Continue his Friendship, now in a time of great business Comeing on, the Councell thinke fitt and order he be presented with the 3 yards of Broadcloth. (*Factory Records, Masulipatam*, vol. 4).

Note.—In the copy of Masulipatam Consultations at Madras the official is given as the "Corkana" =Carcoon, *karkhun, karkun*, clerk, registrar, inferior revenue officer.

R. C. T.

[1] Edited by T. Gaṇapati Śâstri, *Trivandrum Sanskrit Series*, 148.
[2] *Arthaśâstra* of Kauṭilya, Edited by R. Shâma Śâstri (1909), 380.
[3] *Ante*, Vol. XL. 236.
[4] *Śakuntalâ*. Act II, V. 5; *Raghuvaṁśa*, IX, 49.
[5] *Nîtisâra*, XV, 25, 26.

A THIRD JOURNEY OF EXPLORATION IN CENTRAL ASIA, 1913-16.

BY SIR AUREL STEIN, K.C.I.E., D.Litt.

(*Continued from p.* 204.)

On February 16, I left Turfan for the Kuruk-tagh, and having secured from Singer Abdur Rahim's youngest brother as guide, examined several localities in the mountains westwards, such as Po-ch'êng-tzu and Shindi, where traces of earlier occupation were reported. The succession of remarkably rugged ranges and deeply eroded valleys, through which we had to thread our way, contrasted strikingly with the appearance of worn-down uplands presented by most of the Kuruk-tagh eastwards. I was able to map here a considerable extent of ground which had remained unsurveyed. Apart from another brother of Abdur Rahim, who was grazing his flocks of sheep in the gorge of Shindi, and a solitary Turki, who was taking supplies to a spot where a few Chinamen were said to dig for lead, we met no one. The absence of springs or wells precludes the regular use of what scanty grazing is to be found in the higher valleys. Yet in the Han Annals this westernmost portion of the Kuruk-tagh is referred to as a sporadically inhabited region under a separate chief.

Over absolutely barren gravel wastes I then made my way south-eastwards to the salt spring of Yardang-bulak, *recte* Dolan-achchik, at the extreme foot of the Kuruk-tagh, where wild camels were encountered in plenty. Taking my ice-supply from there, I proceeded by the second week of March into the waterless desert south, and mapped there the dried-up ancient river-bed, which once had carried the water of the Konche-darya to the Lou lan sites, over the last portion of its course left unsurveyed last year. The season of sand-storms had now set in, and their icy blasts made our work here very trying. It was under these conditions, fitly recalling the previous year's experience at the Lou-lan cemeteries, that I explored two ancient burial-grounds of small size, which were found on clay terraces rising above the wind-eroded plain. The finds closely agreed with those which the graves, searched on the fortified *mesha* in the extreme north-east of Lou-lan, had yielded. There could be no doubt that the people buried here had belonged to the autochthonous population of hunters and herdsmen living along the 'Dry River' until the tract became finally desiccated in the fourth century A.D. The objects in these graves and the clothes of the dead strikingly illustrated how wide apart in civilization and modes of daily life these semi-nomadic Lou-lan people were from the Chinese frequenting the ancient high-road which passed by the dried-up river.

I had been eagerly looking out along the foot of the Kuruk-tagh for traces of Afrazgul, who was overdue, and had taken the precaution to leave messages for him under cairns. So it was a great relief when, the day after my return to Yardang-bulak, he safely rejoined me with his three plucky Turki companions, including doughty Hassan Akhun, my camel factotum, and Abdul Malik, a fourth hardy brother from Singer. Considering the truly forbidding nature of the ground they had to traverse, and the length of the strain put on our brave camels, I had reason to feel anxious about the safety of the party. Now I was cheered by the completeness with which Afrazgul had carried through the programme I had laid down for him. Having gained Altmish-bulak by the most direct route and taken his supply of ice there, he had explored certain ancient remains in the extreme north-east of the once watered Lou-lan area, for the examination of which I had been unable to spare time on last year's march.

He then struck out for the point where the ancient Chinese route had entered the salt-encrusted bed of the dried-up sea, and thence traced its shore-line to the south-west, until he reached, at Chainut-köl, the northern edge of the area, where the spring floods of the Tarim finally spread themselves out, to undergo rapid evaporation in lagoons and marshes. He arrived, as I had intended, just in time before the usual inundation could interfere with his progress. After a few days' rest, with water and grazing for the camels, he turned into the wind-eroded desert north, and traced more remains of the ancient settlement discovered a year before along the southernmost branch of the 'Dry River.' Finally, after crossing an area of formidable high dunes, he gained the foot of the outermost Kuruk-tagh. From this exceptionally difficult exploration, which had kept the party from contact with any human being for a month and a half, Afrazgul brought back, besides interesting archæological finds, an accurate plane-table survey and detailed diary records. It is impossible here to discuss the results. But, when considered with those which the previous year's surveys had yielded, they will, I feel confident, help to show the so-called Lop-nor problem in a new light.

We subsequently moved west to the point known as Ying-p'an, where the ancient bed of the Kuruk-darya is crossed by the Turfan-Lop track. I made use of a short halt there for exploring the interesting remains of a ruined fort and small temple site, found some miles beyond at the debouchure of the dried-up stream of Shindi, and first noticed by Colonel Kozloff and Dr. Hedin. The finds we made here of fragmentary Kharoshthi records on wood and of Han coins were important as proving that the ruins belonged to a fortified station occupied during the early centuries of our era when the ancient Chinese high-road coming from Lou-lan passed here. The station was meant to guard an important point of the route where it must have been joined by the road leading up from Charchan and Charkhlik. That it held a Chinese garrison became evident from the remains we found on clearing some well-preserved tombs in a scattered cemetery near by. There was definite evidence showing that the site abandoned for many centuries had been reoccupied for a while during Muhammadan and relatively recent times. Now the water needed for irrigation is wholly wanting.

Proceeding from Ying-p'an I first surveyed in the desert westwards the ancient bed, still marked by its rows of dead fallen trees, in which the waters of the Konche-darya had once passed into the 'Dry River' of Lou-lan. My subsequent journey to Korla, by a route leading through the desert north-westwards, and first followed by Dr. Hedin in 1896, enabled me to explore the remains of an ancient line of watch-stations extending for over 100 miles along the foot of the Kuruk-tagh. These watch-towers, some of them remarkably massive and well preserved, showed the same characteristic features of construction with which my explorations along the ancient Chinese *Limes* of Kansu had made me so familiar. There can be little doubt, I think, that these towers date back to approximately the time (*circ.* 109 B.C.) when the Emperor Wu-ti had the route leading from Tun-huang towards Lou-lan protected by his wall and line of watch-stations. From the great height and intervening distances of the towers, as well as from other indications, it may be safely inferred that they were primarily intended for the communication of fire signals, such as are frequently mentioned in the early Chinese records I recovered from the Tun-huang *Limes*.

The need for such signalling arrangements must have been specially felt here, as it was mainly from the directions of Kara-shahr and Korla that the Hun raids must have proceeded, which we know from the Annals to have more than once threatened the Chinese hold upon Lou-lan and the security of their route to the Tarim Basin. With the gradual exten-

sion of Chinese political influence north of the Tien-shan these conditions must have changed, and subsequently the abandonment of the Lou-lan route, and the desiccation of the region it led through, must have greatly reduced the importance of this ancient line of communication along the Konche-darya. Yet the line marked by the towers appears to have continued in use as a high-road down to T'ang times, as was shown by the finds of coins, torn documents on paper, etc., we made on clearing the refuse heaps near them.

My visit to the quasi-peripatetic modern colony of Kara-kum on the upper Konche-darya gave me opportunities for curious observations about irrigation conditions and Chinese administrative methods; but I cannot pause to describe them. At the large and flourishing oasis of Korla, higher up the river, I had soon the satisfaction of seeing, by the beginning of April, our four surveying parties safely reunited. Lal Singh had succeeded in carrying his triangulation from Singer through the western Kuruk-tagh to the snow-covered peaks north of Korla. His dogged perseverence had triumphed over exceptional difficulties, both from the very broken nature of the ground and the adverse atmospheric conditions, which a succession of the violent duststorms usual at this season had created. The reward was the successful linking I had aimed at, of the T'ien-shan range with the system of the Trigonometrical Survey of India.

From Korla we set out on April 6 in three separate parties for the long journey to Kashgar. Lal Singh's task was to keep close to the T'ien-shan and to survey as much of the main range as the early season and the available time would permit. Muhammad Yakub moved south across the Konche and Inchike Rivers to the Tarim, with instructions to survey its present main channel to the vicinity of Yarkand. I sent most of our brave camels with him in order to let them benefit by the abundant grazing in the riverine after all the privations they had gone through. My own antiquarian tasks obliged me to keep in the main to the long line of oases, which fringes the south foot of the T'ien shan and through which the chief caravan route of the Tarim basin still passes, just as it has always done since ancient times. Well known as this high-road is over which lay most of my journey to Kashgar, some 900 miles in length, the opportunities it gave for interesting observations, both on the historical geography and the present physical and economic conditions of this northern fringe of oases, were abundant. But here a brief reference to the result of my work round Kucha must suffice.

Three busy weeks spent within and around this historically important oasis enabled me, with Afrazgul's help, to survey both its actually cultivated area and that which, by the evidence of the numerous ancient sites found scattered in the scrubby desert to the east, south, and west, must have formed part of it. This survey, which archæological finds of interest at a number of ruined sites usefully supplemented, has given me strong grounds for assuming that the area occupied in Buddhist times demanded for its cultivation irrigation resources greatly in excess of those at present available, of which I secured careful estimates. It seems to me clearly established that the discharge of the two rivers feeding the canals of Kucha has diminished considerably since T'ang times. But the antiquarian evidence at present obtainable does not allow us definitely to answer the questions as to what extent this obvious "desiccation" was the direct cause for the abandonment of once irrigated areas, and at what particular periods it proceeded. Here I may also mention in passing that remains of the ancient Han route, in the shape of massive watch-towers, could be traced as far as Kucha, and that their position clearly indicated that the old caravan route had followed the same line as the present one.

After visiting a number of interesting Buddhist ruins in the district of Bai, I travelled to Aksu, where Lal Singh's and my own routes opportunely allowed a brief meeting. He had managed to carry his plane-table survey at three points up to the snow-covered watershed of the Tien-shan, including the glacier pass below the high massif of Khan-tangri. Help I secured from the obliging Tao-tai of Aksu subsequently enabled him to follow a new route on his way to Kashgar, between hitherto unexplored outer ranges of Kelpin.

Regard for urgent tasks obliged me to move in rapid marches to Kashgar, which was reached on 31 May 1915. There at my familiar base I was received with the kindest hospitality by Colonel (now Brigadier-General) Sir Percy Sykes, who had temporarily replaced Sir George Macartney as H.B.M.'s Consul-General. Though a shooting trip to the Pamirs soon deprived me of the congenial company of this distinguished soldier-statesman and traveller, I continued to benefit greatly by all the help and comfort which the arrangements made by him assured to me during my five weeks' stay at Chini-bagh.

The safe repacking of my collection of antiques, filling 182 heavy cases, for its long journey across the Kara-koram to Kashmir, and a host of other practical tasks kept me hard at work all through that hot month of June. In the midst of it I felt greatly cheered by receiving the final permission of the Imperial Russian Government for my long-planned journey across the Pamirs and the mountain north of the Oxus, which the kind offices of H.E. Sir George Buchanan, H.B.M.'s Ambassador at Petrograd, at the instance of the Government of India in the Foreign Department, had secured. Considering how long I had wished to see this extreme east of ancient Iran, and that part of the "Roof of the World" under which it shelters, I could not feel too grateful to the Imperial Russian Government for having showing this readiness to give me access to ground, which for the most part had never before been visited by any British traveller. Its diplomatic representative at Kashgar, Consul-General Prince Mestchersky, lost no chance of facilitating the arrangements for my journey by kind recommendations to the Russian authorities across the border. But throughout it was a great comfort to feel, during that time of preparation, and still more on actual travel, how much of that kind help and attention I directly owed to Lord Hardinge, and the alliance of the British and Russian Empires he had done so much to render possible.

By 6 July 1915 I was able to leave Kashgar for the mountains westwards, after having completed all arrangements for the passage of my eighty heavy camel-loads of antiques to India. But the summer floods in the Kun-lun valleys, due to the melting glaciers, would not allow the valuable convoy to be started at once towards the Kara-koram passes. So R. B. Lal Singh, to whose care I had to entrust it, had set out in the meanwhile to complete our topographical labours in Turkestan by a careful survey of the high snowy mountains, which continue the Muztagh-ata range to the headwaters of the Kashgar River. Before he rejoined me for manifold final instructions I could enjoy a week of delightful seclusion for much urgent writing work, on a small fir-clad alp above the Kirghiz camp of Bostan-arche. Lower down in the valley my brave hardy camels had enjoyed weeks of happy grazing in coolness, badly needed after all their long travel and trials. When the time came for my start, I confess I felt the final separation from them almost as much as the temporary one from my devoted Lal Singh. Of my other assistants, I kept by me only young Afrazgul, whom I knew to be ever useful, even where survey work or digging could not be done. The rest were to accompany my collection to India.

It was with a delightful sense of freedom that on July 19 I started from my mountain camp for the high Ulugh-art Pass and the Pamirs beyond. For across them the road lay now open for me to those mountain regions north of the Oxus, which by reason of their varied geographical interest and their ethnic and historical associations have had a special fascination for me ever since my youth. On the following day I crossed the steep Ulugh-art Pass, about 16,200 feet above sea-level, flanked by a magnificent glacier some 10 miles long. There I felt duly impressed with the fact that I had passed the great meridional mountain barrier, the ancient Imaos, which divided Ptolemy's "Inner" and "Outer Scythia," as in truth it does now Iran and Cathay. The same night, after a 33 miles' walk and ride I reached the camp of Sir Percy Sykes returning from the Pamirs, and next day enjoyed a time of happy reunion with him and his sister, that well-known traveller and writer, Miss Ella Sykes.

Five days of rapid travel then carried me over the northernmost Chinese Pamirs and up the gorge of the westernmost headwaters of the Kashgar River, until I struck the Russian military road to the Pamirs on the Kizil-art Pass where it crosses the Trans-Alai range. At the little rest-house of Por-döbe, which I reached that evening on my descent from the pass, I soon received most encouraging proof of the generous and truly kind way in which the Russian political authorities were prepared to facilitate my travels. There I had the good fortune to meet Colonel I. D. Yagello, who holds military and political charge of the Pamir Division, including now also Wakhan, Shughnan, and Roshan: he was then just passing on a rapid visit to Tashkend. I could not have hoped even on our side of the Hindukush border for arrangements more complete or effective than those which proved to have been made on my behalf by this distinguished officer. It was for me a great additional pleasure to find in him an Oriental scholar deeply interested in the geography and ethnography of the Oxus regions, and anxious to aid whatever investigations could throw fresh light on their past. It was mainly through Colonel Yagello's unfailing aid that I succeeded in covering so much interesting ground, far more than my original programme had included, within the available time and without a single day's loss. I shall always look back with sincere gratitude to his friendly interest and all the generous help which he and his assistants, officers at the several Russian Pamir posts, gave me.

One of the chief objects which I had in view, when planning this extension of my journey across the Pamirs and the Russian territories on the Oxus, was to study there questions of historical geography, in the way which experience elsewhere in the East had taught me to be the best, *i.e.*, on the spot. Hence it was a special satisfaction to me that at the very start I was able to march down the whole length of the big Alai Valley, a distance of over 70 miles. In the topographical configuration, climatic conditions, and local resources of this great Alpine basin I could trace additional indications supporting the belief that through this wide natural throughfare, skirting the northern of the Pamirs from east to west, passed the route which the ancient silk traders from China followed down to the Middle Oxus, as outlined by that much-discussed record of classical geography where Marinus of Tyre describes the progress in the opposite direction of the agents of "Maës the Macedonian" from Bactria to the great silk mart in "the country of the Seres" or China. Similar observations make it appear to me very probable that the famous "Stone Tower" mentioned in that record must be located at or near Daraut-kurghan, a small Kirghiz village and now a

Russian frontier customs post, where the route up the main Kara-tegin Valley emerges upon the Alai. It is the only direct one between Bactria and Eastern Turkestan which is practicable throughout for laden camels.

From Daraut-kurghan, where our supplies could conveniently be replenished, I turned south to strike across the succession of high snowy ranges which separate the headwaters of the Muk-su and the rivers of Roshan and Shughnan from the uppermost Oxus. It was the only route, apart from the well-known one leading across the Kizil-art and past Lake Kara-kul, by which I could cross the Russian Pamirs and their western buttresses from north to south, and this accounted for my choosing it. But it proved a distinctly difficult route to follow, even with such exceptionally hardy animals as Colonel Yagello's orders secured for me from the rare Kirghiz camps encountered. There was, however, abundant reward in the mass of interesting geographical observations to be gathered, and in the splendid views which it offered into a region of permanent snow and ice, little explored and in parts still unsurveyed.

As far as the Tanimaz River, a large tributary of the Bartang or Murghab River, our route led past a grand glacier-clad range, vaguely designated as Sel-tagh or Muz-tagh, and still awaiting exact survey, which forms, as it were, the north-western buttress of the Pamirs. Rarely have my eyes in the Himalaya, Hindukush, or Kun-lun beheld a sight more impressive than the huge glacier-furrowed wall of the Muz-tagh, as it rose before me with magnificent abruptness above the wide torrent beds of the Muk-su, after I had crossed the Tars-agar, our first pass from the Alai. Its boldly serrated crest-line seemed to rise well above 20,000 feet, and individual ice-peaks may reach a considerably greater height. No approximately exact elevations seem so far to have been determined with the theodolite or clinometer for this and some other prominent ranges towering above the western portion of the Pamirs, and neither Afrazgul nor myself could help feeling again and again regret at the obvious considerations which precluded our attempting survey work however modest in scope. Subsequently it was a real satisfaction to come across evidence of the systematic triangulation work which the Topographical Service of Russian Turkestan has been extending over the Pamirs for some years past, and to learn that it was steadily being continued in spite of the war.

Our direct route past the Sel-tagh would have led up the valley by which the Zulum-art and Takhta-koram passes, giving access to the Kara-kul and Tanimaz drainage areas, are approached. But the floods fed by the huge Sel-darra Glacier completely close this route from spring-time till the late autumn, just as they render the track lower down the Muk-su quite impracticable for the greater part of the year.[1] So we were obliged to make our way first over the glacier pass, *circ.* 15,100 feet high, at the head of the Kayindi Gorge. The latter proved to be completely blocked in places by ancient moraines and offered very difficult going. Here, as elsewhere, in the high mountains west of the Pamirs, evidence could be noted of glaciation having considerably receded during recent times.

Beyond the Kayindi the ground assumed a much easier Pamir-like character, and after crossing the Takhta-koram Pass, *circ.* 14,600 feet, we reached on August 8 the first encamp-

[1] This Muk-su Gorge is in places, even during winter, too difficult for laden animals. To find it actually marked in a recent cartographical representation as traversed by the ancient silk trade route seemed an illustration of the risks which beset the work of the historical geographer, when it has to be done solely in the study.

ment of Kirghiz grazing in the open valleys to the south-west of the Great Kara-kul. Having obtained there fresh transport from imposing old Kokan Beg, the Ming-bashi of the northern Pamirs, and having started my anthropometric work, I moved down the Tanimaz Valley to its junction with that of the Murghab or Bartang River. Here at the picturesque hamlet of Saunab, the Tashkurghan of the Kirghiz, I reached the first Iranian-speaking settlement of hill Tajiks or Ghalchas, all fine-looking men. Their ethnic type of pure *Homo Alpinus* their old-world customs, preserved by alpine isolation, and the survival of much that seems ancient in domestic architecture, decorative motifs, etc., interested me greatly and amply justified a day's halt, which allowed me to secure anthropological measurements and arrange for the load-carrying men we needed.

The only route open to us for reaching the southern Pamirs led up by the Bartang River, and progress in its narrow gorges proved exceptionally trying owing to the results of the great earthquake of 18 February 1911, which had transformed the surface of this mountain region in a striking fashion. Already on the lower Tanimaz we had come upon huge masses of rock débris which had been thrown down from the slopes of the flanking spurs and now spread for miles across the open valley bottom. Here in the defiles of the Bartang the huge landslides attending that memorable earthquake had choked up in many places the whole river passage and practically destroyed what tracks there ever existed along or above it. The big river once rivalling in volume the main feeder of the Oxus, the Ab-i-Panja, had here ceased altogether to flow. Strings of deep alpine tarns, with colours of exquisite beauty, had replaced it here and there and helped to increase the difficulties of progress. It took three days' hard scrambling along steep spurs, almost impassable for load-carrying men, and over vast slopes of rock débris spread out in wildest confusion, to get beyond the point near the mouth of the Shedau side valley where the fall of a whole mountain has completely blocked the river, and converted the so-called "Sarez Pamir" into a fine alpine lake over 15 miles long now and still spreading up the valley.[2]

Enormous masses of rock and detritus had been shaken down from the range on the north and had been pushed by the impetus of the landslip up the steep spur flanking the Shedau debouchure. They had thus formed a huge barrage, which even now seemed to rise more than 1200 feet above the level of the new Sarez Lake, and is likely to dam it up for years, if not for centuries. It cost another day's stiff, and in places risky, scramble before we succeeded in getting the baggage safely across the few miles of precipitous rock slopes and dangerous débris-shoots above the Yerkht inlet. Fortunately the men collected from the uppermost hamlets of the Roshan Valley proved all excellent cragsmen and quite expert in building *rafaks*, or galleries of brushwood and stones, along otherwise impassable precipices.

Opportunely succoured by Kirghiz ponies, which had been sent from the Alichur Pamir to meet us, we crossed the Langar Pass, close on 15,000 feet above the sea, by August 20. It gave us easy access to the Yeshil-köl Lake, where I found myself on ground of varied geographical interest. I can mention only two points here and those in all briefness. On the one hand, with the experience gained at the newly formed big lake fresh before me, it

[2] In an important paper (*Comptes rendus de l' Académie des Sciences*, clx. pp. 810 *sqq.*, Paris, 1915), reference to which I owe to Mr. E. Heawood's kindness, Prince B. Galitzine has shown strong reasons for the belief that the Sarez landslide was not the consequence but the cause of the earthquake of 18 February 1911, which was registered at many distant seismological stations. This earthquake is declared to present an exceptionally interesting case where the epicentre can be proved to coincide with the hypocentre itself.

was easy to recognize those topographical features which clearly point to the Yeshil-köl having derived its existence from a similar cataclysm at some earlier period. To the eyes of the non-geologist the formation of the Buruman ridge, which closes the western end of the lake, seemed to bear a close resemblance to the newly formed barrage which has created the Sarez Lake. Of glacier action, which might have produced the same result, I could see no trace on either side of the Yeshil-köl exit. On the other hand, what I observed on my way up the open Alichur Pamir, and subsequently in the Shughnan Valley below it, bore clear evidence to the advantages which the route leading through them had offered for Chinese expansion to the Upper Oxus and Badakhshan, ever since Kao Hsien-chih's memorable Pamir and Hindukush campaign of A.D. 747.

Having crossed the Bash-gumbaz, our fourth pass over 15,000 feet since leaving the Alai, I descended to the glittering big expanse of Lake Victoria or Zor-köl, where the Great Pamir branch of the Oxus rises, and the Pamir borders of Russia and Afghanistan meet. Ever since my youth I had longed to see this, the truly "Great" Pamir and its fine lake, famous in early local legends, and the "Great Dragon Lake" of the old Chinese pilgrims. As I looked across its deep blue waters to where in the east they seemed to fade away on the horizon, I thought it quite worthy to figure in early tradition as the legendary central lake from which the four greatest rivers of Asia were supposed to take their rise. It was a delightful sensation to find myself on ground closely associated with the memories of those great travellers, Hsüan-tsang, the saintly Chinese pilgrim-geographer, Marco Polo, and Captain Wood, the first modern explorer of the Pamir region.

The day of halt, August 27, spent by the sunny lake-shore, undisturbed by any sign of human activity, was most enjoyable, in spite of the bitterly cold wind sweeping across the big alpine basin, *circ.* 13,400 feet above sea-level. It allowed me to gather local information, which once more confirmed in a striking fashion the accuracy of the Chinese historical records. In describing Kao Hsein-chih's expedition across the Hindukush, the T'ang Annals specially mention the concentration of the Chinese forces by three routes from east, west, and north, upon Sarhad, the point on the Ab-i-Panja branch of the Oxus, which gives direct access to the Baroghil and Darkot Passes. The routes from the east and west, *i.e.*, down and up the Ab-i-Panja Valley, were clear beyond all doubt. But of the northern route no indication could be traced in maps or books, and the existence of a pass, vaguely mentioned in native intelligence reports as possibly leading to Sarhad, across the high snowy range south of the Great Pamir, had been denied by members of the British Boundary Commission of 1895 who visited this region.

It was hence a pleasant surprise when inquiries from two much-travelled Kirghiz among our party elicited definite and independent evidence as to an old track still used by Tajik herdsmen, which leads from Sarhad across the range to the glacier-filled head of the Shor-jilga Valley, clearly visible from Lake Victoria, and thence down to the western shore of the latter. All I could observe through my glasses, and what I had seen in 1906 from the other side of the mountain range, seemed to plead for the accuracy of the Kirghiz' information. My only regret was the impossibility of testing it on the spot. This, alas, would have necessitated my trespassing on His Afghan Majesty's territory. How often did I later on, too, look wistfully across the boundary drawn by the River Oxus with the fond wish that I might yet be allowed to pass "through the gate of favour" into those fascinating valleys and mountains on the Afghan side of the border, which I was now able to skirt for hundreds of miles!

Three rapid marches down the Great Pamir River then carried me to Languar-kisht, where we reached the main Oxus Valley, and the highest of the villages on the Russian side of the river. Here, too, everything was done by the Commandant of the Russian frontier post and the local Wakhi headmen to facilitate my journey. My subsequent journey down the Oxus was attended by an abundant harvest of observations bearing on the historical topography, archæology, and ethnography of Wakhan, which in early times had formed an important thoroughfare between Bactria, India, and the Central-Asian territories controlled by China. But it would cost too much time and space if I attempted here to give any details. It must suffice to mention that the exact survey of a series of ruined strongholds, some of them of very considerable extent, acquainted me with numerous features of distinct archæological interest in their plans, the construction and decoration of their bastioned walls, etc. The natural protection offered by unscaleable rock faces of spurs and ravines was always cleverly utilized in these defences. But some idea of the labour, which even thus their construction must have cost, can be formed from the fact that at one of these strongholds, known as Zamr-i-Atish-parast, the successive lines of walls, with their bastions and turrets solidly built in rough stone or in sun-dried brick, ascend the slopes of a precipitous spur rising to an elevation of close on 1000 feet, and have an extent of more than 3 miles.

It is certain that these hill tastnesses date back to pre-Muhammadan times and to a period when this portion of the Oxus Valley contained a population far denser than at present and enjoying a higher degree of material civilization. Their attribution by the present Wakhi people to the "Siahposh Kafirs" merely gives expression to a vague traditional recollection that they date back to times before the advent of Islam, the "Siahposh" of Kafiristan south of the Hindukush never having reached the stage of civilization which these ruins presuppose. Some architectural details seemed to suggest a period roughly corresponding to late Indo-Scythian or early Sassanian domination, during which our scanty records from Chinese sources indicate that Wakhan enjoyed a state of relative affluence and importance.

All along the big valley of Wakhan there opened glorious vistas to the south, where towering above narrow side valleys, and quite near, appeared magnificent ice-clad peaks of the Hindukush main range, looking just as early Chinese pilgrims describe them, like peaks of jade. I realized now what an appropriate invention the "popular etymology" was, which in Muhammadan times has connected the old and much-discussed name of *Bolor*, vaguely used for the Hindukush region, with the Persian *billaur*, meaning crystal. The effect was much heightened by the unexpectedly verdant appearance which the cultivated portion of Wakhan still presented at that season, in spite of the elevation from 8,000 to over 10,000 feet above sea level, and doubly welcome after the bleak Pamirs. It was pleasant to note abundant evidence of how much the resources of the Wakhis on the Russian side of the valley had increased, both in respect of cattle and sheep and of land brought under cultivation, since annexation under the settlement arrived at by the Anglo-Russian Pamir Boundary Commission had removed all trouble from Kirghiz raids and Afghan exactions.

For all these reasons I felt glad that plentiful antiquarian and anthropometric work kept me busy in Wakhan during the first half of September. To this was added a philological task when, on entering that portion of the valley which adjoins the great northward end of the Oxus and is known as the tract of Ishkashim, I could collect linguistic specimens of the hitherto unrecorded *Ishkashmi*, one of the so-called Pamir dialects which form an

important branch among the modern representatives of the Eastern Iranian language group. At the pretty little Russian post of Nu., which faces the main settlement of Ishkashmi, I enjoyed the kind hospitality of Captain Tumanovich, its commandant, and benefited much by his local knowledge and help. Then I passed down the Oxus through the very confined portion of the valley known as Garan, which until the recent construction of a bridle-path with Russian help was ground very difficult of access, even on foot, and visited Colonel Yagello's headquarters at Kharuk. It lies at the fertile debouchure of the Shughnan valleys, where the cart road now crossing the Pamirs ends, and proved a very pleasant spot, boasting of fine fruit gardens, and to my surprise, even of electric light.

The relative abundance of fertile arable land, and the facility of communication both with the Pamirs and the rich grazing uplands of Badakhshan, have always given to the valleys of Shughnan a certain historical importance. They figure often in Chinese and early Muhammadan accounts of the Middle Oxus region. So I was glad to visit in succession the two main valleys of Shakh-darra and Ghund. Considering that the Shughni people have always been noted for their fondness for roaming abroad, in the old days as raiders, and are now as pedlars and servants to be found in all towns from Kabul to Farghana, it was interesting to observe how much of old-world inheritance in ethnic type, local customs, domestic architecture, and implements has survived among them.

From Shitam in the Ghund Valley I crossed by a distinctly difficult glacier pass, over 16,000 feet high, into Roshan. From the watershed, overlooking large and badly crevassed glaciers both to north and south, I enjoyed a glorious vista over the rolling uplands of Badakhshan, a region towards which my eyes have been turned for many years, and to which access still remains closed. The narrow, deep-cut gorges in which the Roshan River has cut its way through towering mountain masses, wildly serrated above and very steep at their foot, proved a line of progress even more toublesome than the glacier across which we had reached them. A two days' climbing and scrambling past precipices by narrow rock ledge and frail galleries (*awrinz*), as bad as any I ever saw in the Hindukush, was relieved in places by the use of skin-rafts, where the absence of dangerous cataracts allowed their employment. Guided by dexterous swimmers, they made me glide down over the tossing river, forgetful of all fatigue, in scenery of impressive grandeur, amidst rock-walls which ever seemed to close in upon us. But it was a real relief when the last rock gate was passed, and we emerged once more in the less-confined valley of the Oxus.

Roshan, just as it is the least accessible of all the side valleys of the Oxus, seems also to have preserved the *Homo Alpinus* type of the Ghalchas in its greatest purity. The men, clean of limb and made wiry by constant movement over such impossible tracks, all showed clear-cut features, and often faces of almost classical regularity. The hamlets nestling at the mouth of the ravines were often half hidden amidst splendid orchards. The dwellings invariably showed plans and internal arrangements which were obviously derived from high antiquity, so many of the features being familiar to me from the architecture traced at early sites of Turkestan and the Indian North-West. Alpine seclusion seemed to have preserved here a small corner of the world scarcely touched by the change of ages, and I wondered whether some Bactrian Greek on a visit to Roshan would have seen much that was different from what these simple well-built dwellings show now.

After a busy delightful day's halt at Kala-Wamar, in the garden of the ruined castle of the Shughnan chiefs, I crossed the glacier pass of Adude and made my way into the Yazghulam and Vanj valleys of Darwaz, where the territory of the Amir of Bokhara was entered.

Here, too, the recommendation of the Imperial Russian political representative, Consul Belaieff, had assured me all possible attention and help. As I travelled up the Vanaj Valley, and subsequently through the mountain tract known as Wakhia-bala, I could not observe the gradual change in the physical appearance, houses, ways of living, etc., of the people, bearing testimony to the historically attested conquest of Turki tribes and the influence exercised by the civilization of the Turkestan plains. But we were still high up in the mountains, and had a trying task when on October 3 we crossed the Sitargh Pass, *circ.* 14,600 feet high, with its big and badly crevassed glacier, after the first winter snow had fallen, and just in time before it became closed to traffic. Finally, we gained by the Gardan-i-kaftar Pass, also under fresh snow, the main valley of Kara-tegin.

Here on the banks of the Kizil-su River, coming from the Alai, I found myself once more on the line of the ancient silk-trade route connecting China with Bactria. A marked change in the climatic conditions was brought home to me by the fact that the fertile slopes on the hillsides are being cultivated without the need of irrigation. Kara-tegin, as its modern name attests, had been long occupied by a Turki-speaking population. It was interesting to note here how the Kirghiz settlers, who represent probably the last wave of this Turkish invasion in what was originally Iranian ground, are now being slowly ousted again from the land by a steady reflux of Tajik immigrants.

From Kara-tegin, where I had interesting opportunities for getting to know the traditional administrative methods of Bokhara, a succession of rapid marches carried me westwards through the open and remarkably fertile valleys which the rivers of Kafirnihan and Surkhan drain. It seemed hard to forego a visit south to the Oxus, where it passes nearest to my old goal of Balkh or Bactra. But time was getting short for the remaining portion of my programme. So I took the nearest route to the confines of ancient Sogdiana northwestwards by the difficult track through the mountains which connects Hissar and Regak with the rich plains about Shahr-i-sabz. Finally, on October 22, I arrived at Samarkand and the Russian Central-Asian railway. Since the start from my camp in the Kashgar Mountains my journey had lasted just over three months, and within these we had covered on foot and on horseback an aggregate distance of close on 1700 miles.

A new and distant field of work lay ahead for me on Persian soil. So only a few days could be spared for renewed visits to the great monuments of Muhammadan art and Mughal power at Samarkand. It was the same at Bokhara, where I could personally thank M. Shulga, then officiating as the Imperial Russian representative, as well as the Diwan-begi, the head of H. H. the Amir of Bokhara's administration, for all the kind help and hospitality I had received in the State. So much survives, in that fascinating great city, of old-world Central-Asian life and of its own historical past that my three days' stay seemed a sadly brief time. Then the Trans-Caspian railway carried me to Askhabad, the great Russian cantonment on the Persian border, and crossing this I reached Meshed by November 4 after a four days' hard drive.

There, at the old capital of Khorasan, Colonel T. W. Haig, H. B. M.'s Consul-General for Khorasan, and a distinguished Oriental scholar, offered me the kindest welcome and the chance of a much-needed short rest. Under the hospitable roof of the Consulate and within its fine large garden I felt as if brought back to some English country house. Constant toil at much delayed official accounts kept me busy and, alas, left little time for glimpses of the interesting city outside. Seistan was my goal for the winter's work, and considering its great distance and the uncertain state of political affairs in Persia, I had much reason to feel grateful for the kind help and shrewd advice by which Colonel Haig facilitated my rapid onward journey.

On November 11 I left Meshed for Seistan. In order to reach it I had chose a route which, keeping off the main roads, gave opportunities for useful supplementary survey work and offered the further advantage of being the most direct. It first took us by little-frequented tracks through hills held by Hazara and Baluch tribal settlements to Rui-Khaf. Thence we travelled south in an almost straight line parallel to the Perso-Afghan border, where it passes through a nearly unbroken succession of desert depressions and of equally barren hill ranges. Near a few of the little oases we passed, as at Mujnabad, Tabbas, and Duruh, I was able to examine remains of sites abandoned since early Muhammadan times. At Bandan we struck the high-road, and two days later, on December 1, reached Nasratabad, the Seistan "capital." The excellent Persian mules hired at Meshed had allowed us to cover the total distance of over 500 miles in nineteen marches. With the assistance of Afrazgul Khan a careful plane-table survey on the scale of 4 miles to 1 inch was carried over the whole ground. The disturbed conditions of Persia due to the War made themselves felt also on the Khorasan border, ever a happy raiding-ground for enterprising neighbours. But owing, perhaps, to the rapidity of our movements and the unfrequented route chosen, the journey passed off without any awkward encounters.

Once safely arrived in Seistan I received a very kind and hospitable welcome from Major F. B. Prideaux, H.B.M.'s Consul in Seistan, and could quickly set to work with all the advantages which his most effective help and prolonged local experience assured me. Ever since my student days I had felt drawn to Seistan by special interests connected with its geography and historical past. It had been more than chance that my very first paper, published as long ago as 1885, dealt with the ancient river names of this Iranian border-land. My present visit to Seistan, long deferred as it was, could for various reasons be only a kind of reconnaissance. Yet even thus I might hope among its numerous ruined sites to discover remains of the early periods when ancient *Sacastana*, "the land of the Sacas or Scythians," served as an outpost of Iran and the Hellenistic Near East towards Buddhist India. A strong additional reason was provided by my explorations in the Tarim Basin; for the striking analogy presented by various physical features of the terminal basin of the Helmand River was likely to throw light on more than one geographical question connected with the dried-up Lop Sea and the ancient Lou-lan delta.

It is a great satisfaction to me that in both directions my hopes have been fully justified by the results of my Seistan work. But it is only the most prominent that I can find space to record here in brief outlines. At the very start my archæological search was rewarded by an important discovery. It was made on the isolated rocky hill of the Koh-i-Khwaja, which rises as a conspicuous landmark above the central portion of the Hamuns or terminal marshes of the Helmand. The extensive and wellknown ruins situated on its eastern slope proved to be the remains of a large Buddhist sanctuary, the first ever traced on Iranian soil. Hidden behind later masonry, there came to light remarkable fresco remains, dating back undoubtedly to the Sassanian period. Wall paintings, of a distinctly Hellenistic style and probably older, were found on the wall of a gallery below the high terrace bearing the main shrine. Protected in a similar way from the ravages of man and atmospheric moisture they had unfortunately suffered much from white ants. The importance of these pictorial relics, which I managed to remove safely in spite of various difficulties, is great. They illustrate for the first time *in situ* the Iranian link of the chain which, long surmised by conjecture, connects the Græco-Buddhist art of the extreme north-west of India with the Buddhist art of Central Asia and the Far East. This connection was reflectd with equal clearness by the architectural features of the ruins, which were also of great interest.

(To be continued.)

SOME INTERESTING PARALLELS.

BY HIRALAL AMRATLAL SHAH, B.A.

To begin with the use of the number 'forty', in the Vedic and non-Vedic literature.

(I) *Rig*°II, 12, 11, informs us that "Indra found out in the *fortieth autumn*, Śambara abiding in the hills":—

"यः शम्बरं पर्वतेषु क्षियन्तं
चत्वारिंश्यां शरद्यन्वविन्दत् ।"

There is no convincing explanation why it should be the fortieth (autumn) and *nothing more or less* than that. Mr. Tilak's[1] hypothesis is well known and is considered to be highly ingenious. But as far as we know, it is not commonly accepted to be the right and final explanation. He construes the hymn differently, taking it to mean the fortieth *day* of the autumn *and not the fortieth Autumn* (=*year*).

We now transcribe passages where this number is used. First of all, we refer to the dramas of Shakespeare edited by Mr. Verity and also to his notes on the passages we select therefrom.

In *Hamlet*, we read:—

"Hamlet: 'I lov'd Ophelia: *forty* thousand brothers
Could not, with all their quantity
Of love, make up my sum . . .' (V, 1, 262, ff.)

"*forty*: *cf.* 'sonnet' 2 (Shakespeare's).
'When *forty winters* shall beseige thy brow',
'Corialanus,' III, 1, 243:—
'I could beat *forty* of them', and the *Merry Wives of Windsor*,—I, 1, 205-6,
'I had rather than *forty* shillings
'I had my books of songs and sonnets here';

"Other numbers, *e.g.*, 3 and 13, have become significant through some ancient belief or historical event; and perhaps 40 gained some mysterious import through the scriptures. Thus the wanderings of the Israelites lasted *forty* years, the fast of our Lord *forty* days, likewise the fast of Elijah (1, Kings, XIX, 8) and the stay of Moses on the mount. (Exod., XXIV, 18)."

Mr. Verity adds here that the "Elizabethans use forty to imply indefinitely large number." However, he changes his opinion a year later, commenting on a passage we are just giving, that *forty* is used constantly by Elizabethans apparently as a "significant number, where no precise reckoning was needed."[2] This is a note on the lines in the *Midsummer Night's Dream*, II, 1, 175-6,

'Puck—'I'll put a girdle round about the earth
In *forty* minutes.'

We now dispense with Shakespeare and turn to the European history. From Macaulay, we learn that in feudal times, *forty* days made up the period, for which, men were bound to serve in a war.

The most interesting parallels, according to us, lie in 'the wanderings of the Israelites for *forty years*' and in the line of the Sonnet, "*forty winters* shall beseige thy brow."

We can do no more than direct the attention of scholars to these instances. We shall now pass on to other cases where resemblance in thoughts and words is interesting.

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[1] *The Arctic Home in the Vedas*, pp. 279 ff.

[2] [Forty is a common conventional number in ancient Jewish tradition and has been supposed to have originated in "forty years" as the conventional life of a generation.—*Ed.*]

About Dawn.

(II) "चन्द्ररथा सूनृता ईरयन्ती । [3]"
"उषः प्रतीची भुवनानि विश्वो-
र्ध्वा तिष्ठस्यमृतस्य केतुः ॥ [4]"
"अच्छा वो देवीमुषसं विभातीं
प्र वो भरध्वं नमसा सुवृक्तिम् ॥ [5]"
"उषो वाजेन वाजिनि प्रचेताः
स्तोमं जुषस्व गृणतो मघोनि । [6]"

—*Rig°* III, 61.

cf. with :—

"Thou in the moon's bright chariot proud and gay,
. . . Thou Scythian-like dost round thy lands above
The sun's gilt tent for ever move
And still as thou in pomp dost go
The shining pageant of the world attend thy show.
. . . When Goddess, liftest up thy waken'd head
Out of the morning's purple bed,
Thy quire of birds about thee play
And all the joyful world salutes the rising day."

—Abraham Cowley: *Hymn to Light*

[' The moon's bright chariot ' corresponds to ' चन्द्ररथा ' but according to Sâyanâchârya, the word ' चन्द्र ' means ' golden ' and not ' moon ' The phrase अमृतस्य केतुः is to be found in the line ' The sun's gilt tent for ever move ' ; here, Sâyanâ° takes ' अमृत ' to mean the ' sun.']

About Sunrise.

(III) "यदेदयुक्त हरितः सधस्था-
द्रात्री वासस्तनुते सिमस्मै । [7]"

—*Rig°* I, 115, 4.

cf with Spencer's *Faerie Queen*, I, 12, 2 and I. 2, 1 ff :—

"Scarcely had Phœbus in the glooming east
Yet harnessed his fiery-footed teeme."
"And cheerful chanticleer with his note shrill
Had warned once that Phœbus' fiery car,
In haste was climbing up the Eastern hill,
Full envious that night so long his room did fill."

[' Eastern hill ' is the well-known ' उदयगिरि ' |]

(IV) "मर्यो न योषामभ्येति पश्चात् । [8]"
"आप्रा द्यावापृथिवी अन्तरिक्षं । [9]"

—*Rig°* I, 115, 1-2.

Translation of the Passages.

[3] "O Dawn, . . . on thy golden car; awaken the sweet notes of the birds." (Peterson.)

[4] "O Dawn, before all the world thou risest up, the banner of immortality." (Peterson.) According to Sâyaṇâ, "proclaimer of the (immortal) Sun."

[5] "Come, bring to the shining Dawn your offering and bow down before her." (Peterson.)

[6] "O Dawn, rich in blessing, wise and bountiful, accept the song of thy worshipper." (Peterson.)

[7] . . . "For, when he yoked his horses from their stall, Night was spreading her garment over all." (Peterson.)

When he (Sun) draws away (from this world) his horses (rays), the Night covers everything with darkness. (Sâyaṇâ.) [This passage is understood in different ways by different scholars. We cannot say how far the parallel can help us to clear the meaning.]

[8] "(The sun follows the divine and shining Dawn,) as a wooer follows his mistress." (Peterson.)

[9] "Sûrya (Sun) has filled eaven, earth and the mid-sky." (Peterson.)

cf. with *Faerie Queen.* I, 5, 2 :

" And Phœbus, fresh as bridegroom to his mate
Came dancing forth, shaking his dewy hair
And hurled his glistening beam through gloomy air."

(V) " समानमर्थं चरणीयमाना [10] " —*Rig* III, 61, 3.

cf. with " The welkin way most beaten plaine " *Faerie Queen* I, 4, 9.

Miscellaneous.

(VI) " रघुमेव निवृत्तयौवनं तममन्यत नरेश्वरं प्रजाः । [11] "—*Raghu* VIII, 5.

cf. with " He saw in Mahomet, with his old life-worn eyes a century old, the lost Abdallah come back again, all that was left of Abdallah." -(Carlyle's *Heroes.*- Hero as a Prophet)

There is some difference between the above two passages. The subjects (*prajâ*) do not get old. Hence in the *Raghu*, we do not expect to find the 'old life-worn eyes'; nor do we find 'all that was left of . . . . . ' because the departure of Raghu was quiet and peaceful leaving behind him nothing which would indicate hard times.

(VII) " गच्छति पुरः शरीरं धावति पश्चादसंस्तुतं चेतः ।
चीनांशुकमिव केतोः प्रतिवातं नीयमानस्य ॥ [12] "
—*Śâk*° I, 29.

cf. with T. Moore's "*The Journey Onwards*" :—

" As slow our ship her foamy track
Against the wind was cleaving,
Her trembling pennant still look'd back
To that dear isle 'twas leaving.
So loth we part from all we love,
From all the links that bind us ;
So turn our hearts, as on we rove,
To those we have left behind us ! "

[" प्रतिवातं नीयमानस्य " may hint that the flag belongs to a ship and not to a chariot.]

The following sentence is taken from the *Uttarabhâga* of Kâdambarî:—

(VIII) " शनैः शनैश्चन्द्रदर्शनाच्चन्द्रमन्दस्मितायाः दशनप्रभेव ज्योत्स्ना निष्पतन्ती निशाया मुखशोभामकरोत् । [13] "

cf. with G. Wither's " *The Mistress of Philarete* ": —

" When her ivory teeth she buries
Twixt her two enticing cherries, ...
If you look again the whiles
She doth part those lips in smiles,
'Tis as when a flash of light
Breaks from heaven to glad the night."

(IX) " त्वं जीवितं त्वमसि मे हृदयं द्वितीयं
त्वं कौमुदी नयनयोरमृतं त्वमङ्गे । [14] "
—*Uttararâmacharitam*, III, 26

cf. with R. Herrick's "*To Anthea*" —

" Thou art my life, my love, my heart,
The very eyes of me,
And hast command of every part
To live and die for thee."

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[10] "Moving to the old goal." (Peterson.) "Treading the old (usual) path." (Sâyaṇâ.)

[11] "The subjects looked upon him their sovereign lord as Raghu himself returned to youth."

[12] "The body moves forward, the dull mind runs back like the flag of the staff carried against the wind."

[13] "Gradually, the moonlight added beauty to the face of the Night on which a faint smile lurked on account of the appearance of the moon (her lover)."

[14] "Thou art my life, my second heart; Thou art moonlight to my eyes, the nectar to my limbs."

Let us again return to the *Faerie Queen* (II, 13) :—

(X) " No tree whose braunches did not bravely spring ;
No braunch whereon a fine bird did not sitt ;
No bird but did her shrill notes sweetly sing ;
No song but did containe a lovely ditt.
Trees, braunches, birds and songs, were framed fitt
For to allure fraile mind to carelesse ease."

These lines remind us the first verse of the *Śukarambhâsaṃvâda* —

" मार्गे मार्गे नूतनं चूतखण्डम्
खण्डे खण्डे कोकिलानां विरावः ।
रावे रावे मानिनी मानभङ्गः
भङ्गे भङ्गे मन्मथः पञ्चबाणः ॥ [15] "

(XI) " कमप्यर्थं चिरं ध्यात्वा वक्तुं प्रस्फुरिताधराः ।
बाष्पस्तम्भितकण्ठत्वादनुक्त्वैव वनं गताः ॥ [16] "

—*Pratimâ*° of Bhâsa, II, 17.

This way Râma, Sitâ and Lakshamaṇa went to forest according to Bhâsa. It is quite different in *Râmâyaṇa*, wherein we read a long farewell message. Whether Bhâsa or some one else be the author of the dramas published by Mr. Gaṇapati Śâstri, the skill of the dramatist is quite evident. He has heightened to an extraordinary pitch the pathos of the situation by dropping the message altogether, and thus making it an indication of intense grief.

In *Râmâyaṇa*, the farewell message was meant to show the feelings of grief ; but by a stroke (we should consider it to be of the pen of a genius) it has been dropped, in spite of *Râmâyaṇa*, simply to *express* the grief. That Râma went away without leaving a message behind him is sufficient to drive mad his affectionate father. We have come across many cases where Bhâsa puts aside older authorities, or historical facts. Here is one of them where he does so with great success and rare effect. We cite a parallel to the above verse of Bhâsa :

" Neither could say farewell, but through their eyes
Grief interrupted speech with tears' supplies."

—T. Carew's "*A Pastoral Dialogue* :" last lines.

The following lines are perfectly oriental in sentiment, although we read them in the *Faerie Queen*, I, 12, 36-7 —

(XII) " And to the knight his daughter dear he tied
With sacred rites and vows for ever to abide."
" His own two hands the holy knott did knitt
That none but death for ever can divide ;
His own two hands, for such a turne most fit,
The houseling fire did kindle and provide,
And holy water thereon sprinkled wide ; . . ."

" The houseling fire ", we consider, is more connected with India and the Indian life than with any other race on the earth. Even in the drama of Shakespeare we read —

" For in the temple, by and by, with us
These couples shall eternally be knit." —

—*A Midsummer Night's Dream*, IV, 1, 185-6.

Here the parallels come to an end; We hope their significance will not be lost upon the reader.

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15 "On the road there are clusters of mangoe-trees and every such cluster resounds with the cooings of cuckoos; Every note of cuckoo makes the proud lady give up her pride: and with that, springs up (in her heart) the five-arrowed god."

16 "For a long time they thought : and (then) quivered their lids to utter something ; but tears prevented their speech; hence, without uttering a word, they went away to forest."

THE HISTORY OF THE NAIK KINGDOM OF MADURA.

BY V. RANGACHARI, M.A., L.T., MADRAS.

(*Continued from p. 219.*)

Chanda's entry into Trichi and his aims.

An evil day it was for Madura and its queen when Chanda Sahib made his entry into the Trichinopoly fort. It did not take long for Mînâkshi to find out that her friend was really her master, soon an enemy. For the love of power, she had sacrificed the unity of the State and invited the foreigners, and she now found that, in spite of her sacrifice, she was far from exercising power Greedy and ambitious, Chanda Sahib could not check his interested diligence or voracious appetite. His soaring ambition longed for the time when the queen would be no more in his way, and when he could openly rule as the undisputed master of the region from the Kâveri to the Cape. True, he did not at first so behave as to divulge the desire of his heart. He had the wisdom to proceed with caution, to use the name of Mînâkshi in all his actions and proceedings, so as to divert suspicion and invite confidence. An analysis of Chanda Sahib's motive in this period of his life shows that he had three things in view. He wished first to overthrow Bangâru Tirumala in the name of Mînâkshi, so that the Madura kingdom would once again be a strong and united power and free from rebellion and treason. Secondly, the consolidation of Madura achieved, he hoped to depose Mînâkshi and place himself, in the capacity of the Nawab's lieutenant, on the throne of Trichinopoly. When this was done, he evidently hoped, as the last step of his ambition, to turn traitor to his master and declare himself an independent king. The first of these he expected to accomplish by acting in the name of Mînâkshi and by using the Nawab's countenance, the second by the Nawab's countenance alone, and the third, after his elevation, by his own unaided resources. Chanda Sahib was, in other words, actuated by a secret motive in every step and a secret understanding against everybody. To use Minâkshi as the means of Bangâru Tirumala's destruction, then to use the Nawab's name against Mînâkshi, and then to use his new powers against his master, were the methods which his ambition inspired and planned. No better instance have we in history of a clever schemer who combined the victims and the agents of his ambition in such a skilful manner. The means of his elevation to-day were, according to his plan, to be the victims of his tyranny tomorrow. Self was the only God whom Chanda Sahib knew, and it is not surprising that he proved to be the evil genius of the Nâik kingdom.

His tacit allowance of the partition of the kingdom.

In accordance with his plan Chanda Sahib seems to have,[93] as Mr. Nelson says, first advised Mînâkshi to sacrifice the life of her rival Bangâru, so that ostensibly there could be no scope for the progress of any rebellion in his name, but really that he himself might have a free hand in the administration of the kingdom. It seems that Mînâkshi displayed on this occasion, a rare generosity, and refused to do so. Ill-treated as she had been by her adopted child's father she apparently forgot or ignored the past, and refused to injure him in any way. Indeed, she did not only protect him by a noble act of oblivion, but evidently came to an understanding with him, by which, in a reasonable spirit of modera-

93 Nelson no doubt based his account on the Telugu chronicle.

tion, she agreed to partition[94] the kingdom into two divisions, by which she was to live at Trichinopoly and get the revenues of the North as far as Dindigul, while Bangâru was to have his headquarters at Madura and rule the rest of the kingdom. The extent of Mînâkshi's conciliation can be imagined from the fact that she placed even her adopted son and ward under the protection of Bangâru Tirumala. It is not difficult to perceive in this extraordinary agreement that Mînâkshi was inspired not only by the desire not to stain the fair reputation of her name but by her probable repentance of the past, and by her generous recognition that, after all, Bangâru was, next to her, the sole claimant to the throne, and that any harm or violation done to his person might result in the final ruin ot the kingdom. It shews the triumph of reason over prejudice, of her wisdom over her selfishness. Chanda Sahib did indeed, for his own reasons, urge her to give up her generous behaviour and conciliatory policy, but neither her helpless state of dependence, nor the colour of plausible soundness which Chanda Sahib lent to his arguments, could deter her from resisting the unfortunate solicitation of the Musalman. And Chanda Sahib himself perhaps perceived that, in the then circumstances, the exercise of power in a portion of the kingdom by Bangâru was, after all, a service or rather than disservice to him; for the removal of Bangâru by death would necessarily betray his own designs and reveal his ambitions to the Nawab. On the other hand, the existence of Bangâru would, while strengthening his control over Minâkshi, give him a security from the Nawab's displeasure,— a security all the more necessary for the maturity and success of his plans. Chanda Sahib therefore thought it better, in the long run, to acquiesce in the arrangements of Minâkshi and the partition of the kingdom.

The intriguing temperament and the tortuous policy of Chanda Sahib however could not keep him quiet for a long time. He resolved at any cost, to overthrow Bangâru Tirumala, but he had not enough resources. Nor would the queen listen to him.[95] In 1735 therefore he returned to Arcot, with the idea of returning to Trichinopoly with reinforcements. It is not improbable that, during his sojourn at Arcot, he convinced the Nawab of the necessity of getting rid of the Nâik chieftain and that the Nawab, unable to look beyond his nose, consented. However it was, when Chanda Sahib returned to Trichinopoly in 1736 at the head of a large force, Queen Minâkshi, alarmed by fear or ignorance of his real motive, admitted him. The historian Orme suggests on the ground of a vague tradition that Mînâkshi had by this time fallen in love with the Musalman and that this intoxication clouded her understanding, compromised her dignity and made her a willing tool, if not an abject slave of the adventurer.

His adoption of war-like policy and attack on Bangâru Tirumala in Madura.

However it might have been, the first act of Chanda Sahib after his return to Trichinopoly was to despatch, in her name, an army against Bangâru Tirumala and his royal son. According to the Telugu chronicle he himself set out against Bangâru, "beat the troops stationed in the Dindigul district, took possession of it, and proceeded as far as Ammaya-pâḷayam.

[94] The Telugu *Rec. Carna. Govrs.* "She retained for her own expenses and charities the revenues of the districts on the Kâveri banks, and gave Tinnevelly, Madura, Dindigul with Râmnâd, Sivaganga and other *pâḷayams* to Bangâru." Her share was much smaller than Bangâru's, or rather his son's. Wilson, on the other hand, seems to think that Bangâru's going to Madura was the result not of an agreement but of a desire to escape from the clutches of Chanda Sahib and the Râṇi. *JRAS.*, III.

[95] Wilson, on the other hand, seems to think that Chanda acted during all this time, with the queen's approval and not in spite of her.

Meanwhile Baṅgâru had ordered his Daḷavâi, Mutu Veṅgu Aiyar and Veṅkaṭa Kṛishṇa Nâik, the son of Mînâkshi Nâik, to oppose him, accompanied by 2,000 cavalry, and by Appaiya Nâik, Bôdhi Nâik, Irchaka Nâik and other Polygars. In the battle which ensued Veṅkaṭa Kṛishṇa fell, covered with eighteen wounds. The Daḷavai, seated on a howdah, discharged arrows on his foes all round, scattering 300 men and allowing none to approach. By turning the howdah elephant to turn on every side like a whirlwind, he slew a great many soldiers and wounded many more. At the same time, the enemy, by means of arrows and musket-bullets, pierced Veṅgu Aiyar's body like a sieve, covering it with many wounds. He nevertheless relaxed not, and fought like Abhimanyu with the army of Duryodhana. He did not even pause to draw out the arrows that had struck him, but when his stock of arrows were expended, he drew out those which were in his body; and discharged them, thereby slaying several of his foes. But at length from the number of his wounds he became exhausted and expired. His troops were cut to pieces. A few, however, though wounded, took his body to Madura. Soon afterwards, Baṅgâru heard that Chanda Sahib was advancing to Madura and, as he was destitute of forces, quitted that place., together with the prince and the royal appurtenances for Śivagaṅga." The *Carna. Govrs.* gives a slightly different version. It says that Chanda Sahib did not personally go against Baṅgâru, but despatched the Daḷavâi and Pradhâni Gôvindaiya and Râvaṇaiya "at the head of 8,000 cavalry and some infantry against Dindigul. They captured it, and were about to march on Madura, when Baṅgâru Tirumala Nâikar sent his Daḷavâi Muttu Veṅgu Aiyar with a few men and 2,000 horse, to await the enemy at Ammaiyanayakanur Pâḷayam and give battle. In the battle which consequently followed the heavy odds of the Trichinopoly army gained the day, and the howdah of Muttu Veṅgu Aiyar was surrounded. From his seat he discharged all his arrows and killed many of the enemy's horse, but was eventually slain. The victorious army then marched on Madura. Baṅgâru Tirumala had no army to support him. So he left Madura and came to Śivagaṅga, the estate of Uḍaya Têvar."

Baṅgaru's Exile.

At this important crisis of his life Baṅgâru had the consolation, the only consolation, of the loyalty of some of his Polygars. When he fled from Madura[96] for safety, he was welcomed by the Sêtupati Kâtta Têvar and the Śivagaṅga Chief Saśiva Têvar. They met him with golden and silver flowers, paid him homage, and escorting him in pomp to their estate, placed at his disposal a number of villages for his maintenance, and also supplied everything needed. The village of Veḷḷaikkuruchchi formed the residence of the father and the royal son, and from there they were, we can hardly doubt, reminded every day of their fallen condition, all the more by the faith of their loyal feudatories.

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96 A remarkable instance of the absurd adherence to mere political terminology, which has no meaning whatever, is clear from an inscription in the name of Baṅgâru Tîrumala, dated A.D. 1733. The Vijayanagar Empire had long been extinct, the Musalmans and Marathas had come and ruled, and the Nâiks themselves had acted independently or in accordance with the dictates of the Musalmans. Yet this inscription discovered in the Kâḷâstîśvara temple of Uttamâpâḷayam says that he was the servant of Śrî Raṅga Râya of Vijayanagar,—Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara, Râjadhirâja, Râjaparamêśvara, Râjamârtaṇḍa, Râjagambhîra, the conqueror of all countries, the giver of no country, the death to the triad of kings, the scatterer of Uriya forces, the humiliator of the Uriya pride, the scatterer of the Musalman forces, the humiliator of the Musalman pride, the king of kings who collected tribute from all kingdoms, the lord of horses, the lord of elephants, the lord of men, the Navakôṭinârâyaṇa,—the Râyya of Ânagundi!—See Taylor's *Rest Mack. MSS.*, II, p. 276-8.

Chanda Sahib's betrayal of Minâkshi.

After the flight of Baṅgâru and Vijaya Kumâra, Madura lay open to the forces of Chanda Sahib. Râvaṇaiya and Gôvindaiya occupied it promptly, and after securing it continued their march southward as far as Tinnevelly. The Polygars yielded and took the oath of allegiance to the queen. But it was not for long that that queen was to rule. With the conquest of Madura and Tinnevelly, with the full acquisition of the kingdom, and with the flight and exile of the king and the regent, the necessity on the part of Chanda Sahib to assume a sham loyalty to Mînâkshi was gone. He could now openly throw off his disguise, and make his outward behaviour consistent with his secret desire. Chanda Sahib therefore confined the queen in her palace and openly flouted her authority. He assumed a supercilious air and a dictatorial tone, placed the defence of the fort in the hands of his own men, secured the treasury, seized the administration, and ordered the relations and followers of Minâkshi to leave the fort. It must have been a shock and a surprise to them and to the people, but all defence, all hesitation, was useless. The villain had taken every precaution to back up his commands, and resistance would mean nothing but suicide.

Her Suicide.

The result was that Mînâkshi was a prisoner in her palace, her men in exile and her emancipation beyond hope. The only man who was likely to present an effective check to her oppressor was an exile. Did Baṅgâru Tirumala know her actual condition ? Or, did he believe that the army which Chanda Sahib had recently sent against him was an army in reality sent by Mînâkshi ? We have no materials from which we can pronounce an opinion on these questions. It is highly probable that Baṅgâru Tirumala was ignorant of the tyranny to which Mînâkshi was subjected at Trichinopoly; that he might have even believed, from his recent disaster, that Chanda Sahib and Mînâkshi were on cordially amicable terms. He was, in other words, ignorant of the miserable situation of his rival, the ambitions of Chanda Sahib, and the consequent feeling of friendship which Mînâkshi must have in her heart entertained for him. However it might have been, he did not stir a finger, after his flight to Sivagaṅga, to recover his kingdom. Either his ignorance of the actual state of things at Trichinopoly, or his incapacity with the resources he then had, to go to war, made him harmless. It is not improbable that the counsels of his supporters looked on an attempt to recover the kingdom by force would end in failure. Consequently, with the lapse of days, the position of Mînâkshi became intolerable. Every day the Musalman was getting haughtier and she was treated with humiliation and insult. Every accident betrayed the impotence of her party and the turbulent temper of her guards, and it was not long before she realised that the conspiracy formed in her very palace-prison was too formidable to be quelled. The courtiers, who were loyal to her, were either exiles or powerless men, who had no access to her on account of the Mussalman soldiers stationed in the gateways and galleries, the vestibule and portico of the prison, and some were prepared, thanks to bribery and persuasion, to take part in Chanda Sahib's designs. Life became a burden under these circumstances. The loss of crown and freedom, the pressure of remorse and the poignancy of grief, prepared her for removal from this world, and the last Hindu sovereign of Trichinopoly died broken-hearted by her own hand.

Such was the ignominious fate of the last Nâik ruler of Madura and Trichinopoly. She had been on the throne only for a space of five years, and the penalty she had to pay for her short-sighted opposition to her cousin, with whom she might have come to an under-

standing of an amicable nature, in the very beginning of her reign, was her life, and the extinction of her kingdom. The Musalman was now firmly seated at Trichinopoly and Madura. The most powerful remnant of old Vijayanagar, the dynasty which had survived the vicissitudes and political revolutions of two centuries after the downfall of Vijayanagar, was now no more. The institution of Viśvanâtha Nâik and Aryanâtha Mudaliâr became extinct; and if the Polygars of Madura still assumed the title of Polygars, few traces can be discovered of their political subordination.

Chanda Sahib's March against Baṅgaru.

The ambition of Chanda Sahib impelled him, after the acquisition of the kingdom, to prompt and decisive action. In accordance with his preconceived design, he resolved to employ his new resources in the renunciation of his allegiance to his relation and suzerain. At the same time, he wanted to be tactful enough not to rashly provoke him against himself. Tempering his ardour by this consideration, he kept on friendly terms with his master for a year. In the meantime, he devoted himself to the consolidation of his new kingdom. He repaired and strengthened the fortifications of Trichinopoly, and appointed his two brothers as governors of the stronghold of Dindigul and Madura. He then embraced the resolution of marching against the Polygars of Râmnâḍ and Sivagaṅga who, as we have already seen, had given refuge to Baṅgâru Tirumala and Vijaya Kumâra. Vijaya Kumâra was still the titular Kartâ, and so long as he lived, and commanded the allegiance of the Polygars, the Muhammadan would be, in the eyes of the people, a usurper. Chanda Sahib, therefore, proceeded to remove the obstacle.

Baṅgâru's Alliance with Tanjore, and Failure.

Baṅgâru Tirumala was alarmed. He saw that the heart of Chanda Sahib was set on his ruin, that the chiefs who had given him refuge could not, owing to their limited resources, aid him any further. He sought for allies; found one, a companion in trouble, who was prepared to sympathise with him and to co-operate withd him in undertaking means to overthrow the haughty Musalman. That companion in trouble was the contemporary King of Tanjore, Sayaji. Sayaji [97] had ascended the Tanjore throne in 1738 as successor to queen Sujana Bai, the wife of his elder brother. Immediately after his accession, Sayaji found himself in an exceedingly difficult and embarrassing position. An impostor named Savai Shahji or Siddoji, who pretended to be the son of Sayaji's elder brother and therefore the legitimate heir to the throne, disputed his right and set up a formidable standard of rebellion. The progress of this treason in fact was so startling that Sayaji found himself, with a tragic suddenness, a deserted chief and had to seek refuge by flight. Proceeding to Chidambaram he asked for the assistance of the French at Pondicheri, in return for the cession of Kâraikâl, which they had been long desirous of obtaining. Dumas, the French Governor, agreed, and was about to occupy Kâraikâl and send an army to assist Sayaji, when the latter, who had in the meanwhile been engaging other means than force, succeeded by dint of bribes and promises to the nobility of Tanjore, in effecting a *coup d'etat* and recovering his crown, cancelled his treaty with the French. Governor Dumas was highly indignant at this turn of events, but he had no other alternative than to acquiesce in it. At this crisis, Chanda Sahib invaded the Tanjore dominions in the name of the Nawab to collect tribute, and he made an alliance with the French by which he was to

97 See *Tanj. Gazr.*, 44-5.

compel Sayaji to surrender Kâraikâl to them, a measure which he thought he could take, as the Nawab was the suzerain. The place was then forcibly taken and Sayaji was compelled to agree to his treaty and ratify it in a formal agreement (Feb. 1739). He at the same time was compelled to pay enormous booty to Chanda Sahib.

Baṅgâru Tirumala calls in the Marathas.

It is not surprising that Sayaji was, like Baṅgâru Tirumala, embittered in his feeling against Chanda Sahib and ardently longed for his overthrow. Both the chiefs put their heads together and embraced the resolution of calling the Maratha Peshwa to their assistance. The Peshwa[98] of the time, the celebrated Baji Rao I., was not the man to let slip an opportunity which promised so much for Maratha expansion. He, therefore, eagerly seized the proposal of the ex-chief. With characteristic astuteness he suppressed domestic disunion for the sake of common ambition, and persuaded even his rival, Raghoji Bhonsle, to take part in an expedition into South India, ostensibly to take the cause of Baṅgâru, in reality to extend the sovereignty of the Mahârâshtra to the furthest corner of India. Raghoji Bhonsle and his colleague Fateh Singh were soon on the march to the south. The troops of Dost 'Ali vanished before them, and the Hindu powers, headed by Tanjore, hastened to renounce the Musalman[99] yoke and rally round the invaders. The coast being thus not only clear but inviting, Raghoji Bhonsle was soon at the foot of the Trichinopoly fortifications. The place was promptly invested, and after a few months' blockade, was induced to capitulate. The acquisition of Trichinopoly was followed by the acquisition of Madura; for its Governor, Bade Sahib, the brother of Chanda Sahib. had already met, in an engagement with the Marathas, in the vicinity of Trichinopoly, with defeat and death.

The Maratha Occupation of Trichinopoly.

The Maratha conquest and occupation of Trichinopoly and Madura had naturally the effect of reviving the fortunes of Baṅgâru Tirumala and his royal ward. One of the Chronicles[100] describes how Fateh Singh summoned, after his victory, the regent and the crown prince to Trichinopoly; how in an interview with them, he dwelt on the great trouble he had

[98] *Hist. of the Carna. Dynas.* Duff does not mention this.

[99] Duff points out that Safdar Ali, being defeated, bought off the Marathas, and also entered into a secret compact by which Raghoji was to crush Chanda Sahib in Trichinopoly, in return for the cession of that place. "No bait could be more allowing to the Marathas than Trichinopoly, and the troops only retired 250 miles towards Mahârâshtra to prepare for the promised conquest and lull suspicion of an attack" (pp. 2-3). Raghoji then returned to Poona to prevent the accession of Bâlâji Bâji Rao to the Peshwaic dignity. He failed, and then returned to attack Trichinopoly, accompanied by Śripat Rao Pratinidhi and Fateh Singh Bhonsle. "In regard to the subsequent operations of the Marathas in the Carnatic, very little illustrative of what has been so ably recorded has fallen within my observation in the Maratha country. It appears, however, that the Tanjore State, though then agitated by factions, entered into a friendly correspondence with their countrymen, but whether to avert attack or to afford assistance is not mentioned." Trichinopoly surrendered, 26th Mar. 1741. It will be seen from this that Duff was ignorant of the fact that the Marathas attacked Trichinopoly not only to fulfil the promise of Safdar Ali, but ostensibly to restore the Madura dynasty.—According to the *Madura MSS.*, moreover, Tanjore was distinctly for assistance.

[100] *Hist. of the Carna. Dynas.* Here it closely agrees with Duff. *See* II, p. 5. The *Mys. Gazr.* says that the Marathas, when they took Trichinopoly, "took Chanda captive to Satara, and disregarding the claims of Baṅgâru Tirumala," appointed Murâri Rao as the governor of the conquered kingdom This, it will be seen, is not supported by the chronicles.

taken to restore their kingdom to them; and how he demanded, as the price of his service, a war indemnity of 30 lakhs of rupees and a regular payment of the old annual tribute of three lakhs. Baṅgâru Tirumala, we are further told, replied to these demands, that in consequence of Chanda Sahib's appropriations of all the ready money and jewels of the crown, he was unable to pay the thirty lakhs in a lump sum, and that he agreed to pay it in three yearly instalments of ten lakhs. The Maratha chief agreed and, after taking a written agreement to that effect from Vijaya Kumâra, deputed the task of reinstating him to his gallant lieutenant, Murari Rao, and then left for his distant home, with Chanda Sahib as his prisoner. Murari Rao, the chronicle continues, discharged his duties with sympathy and with justice. He brought the whole country into order and, "giving it over to Baṅgâru," himself stayed in Trichinopoly to ensure proper cultivation and collection of revenue. Another chronicle, differing slightly from this version, says with greater probability, that after the capture of Trichinopoly, Fateh Singh "placed Murari Rayar in charge of the fort instructing him to send for and call Baṅgâru Tirumalai Nâicker hither, to crown him and give the country over to him; appointing an acknowledgment for the crown of 30 lakhs of Rupees, to be paid to Murari Rayar"; that Murari Rao, in consequence, wrote to Uḍaya Têvar to bring Baṅgâru with him, when the Nizam invaded the Trichinopoly dominions and put an end to the Maratha power there. According to this authority then, no interview took place between the Maratha general or his representative and the Nâik chief; nor was the latter restored to power: for, before that task was accomplished, the Maratha had to surrender Trichinopoly to the Nizam and return to the Mahârâshtra. A third manuscript gives some more details than the other two, though it is silent in regard to the actual treatment accorded to Baṅgâru Tirumala. It says that Fateh Singh (whom it wrongly calls a Mysore chief) slew Bade Khan, dispersed the Muhammadans, captured Trichinopoly, and placed Murari Rao as the chief of that fort, ordering that the Siva and Vishṇu temples should be conducted according to custom. Fateh Singh then returned to the north. "Murari Rayar," continues the record, "was a just chief. He despatched Appâchi Râyar with 20,000 cavalry (to Madura)"; and the latter took immediate steps to restore the gods of that place. He recompensed the Sêtupati for his services and expenses and, on Saturday, the 17th of Âvaṇi, *Dunmuki*, two hours after sunset, brought the images to their own temple at Madura. Appâchi, it is further said, caused all the villages and lands endowed by the Karnāṭa kings to be restored.

The Nizam's Conquest and promised Naik Restoration.

From this it is clear that the relations between the Marathas and the Nâiks are not certain. We cannot definitely say whether Vijaya Kumâra was restored and invested with full power of sovereignty or not. But the question is, after all, not important; for, as has been already mentioned, the Maratha occupation of the South barely lasted two years. In the early months[1] of 1743, the Nizam, whose natural desire was to drive the Marâthas from the assertion of supremacy over a kingdom which was tributary to his Subah of Arcot, marched at the head of 10,000 cavalry and encamped at the foot of the Trichinopoly walls. In the engagements which ensued, Murari Rao was defeated and compelled to leave the Carnatic. The *Record of Carna. Govrs.* says that, when Murari Rao was unable to prevail over the formidable forces of his adversary, he entered into negotia-

[1] In January 1742, Safdar Âli had been murdered by his brother-in-law and there was general confusion in Mughal territory, S. of the Krishna; and the Nizam took advantage of this opportunity to establish his power there (Duff).

tion with him and explained "that he had been entrusted with the task of reinstating Râja Muttu Tirumalai Nâik, and that, as His Highness was come in person, he was relieved of his task. He, therefore, gave up the fort to the Nizam and went[2] to Poona." Asaf Jah immediately took possession of the fort and despatched, we are told, messengers to Baṅgâru Tirumala, summoning him and the king to meet him. The interview took place at Trichinopoly. The Nizam was gracious enough to acknowledge the sovereign power of Vijaya Kumâra, but imposed, as a condition of his restoration, the payment of 30 lakhs promised to the Marathas and the payment of the tribute of three lakhs every year. A written agreement bearing the signature of the boy-king was prepared to this effect; and the Nizam then returned by way of Arcot to Hyderabad in accordance with this arrangement.

The Nizam's Treachery.

If the Nizam had left Vijaya Kumâra to rule as of old at Trichinopoly, his motive can be pronounced to be sincere, but there are ample reasons for believing from his subsequent conduct that his sympathy with the Nâik chief was a pretence, and the document he got from him a sham. For, the same manuscript tells us that when the Nizam proceeded to Arcot, he took Baṅgâru and Tirumala with him practically as prisoners, though he assured them that they were to be his friends and guests. "Subsequent[3] to their arrival at Arcot, Safdar Ali Khan died and, as his children were young, the Nizam gave it in charge of Alivardi Khan till the children of Safdar could be competent to manage the affairs of Government. He also charged him to conduct the Karnâṭaka[4] prince, Vijaya Kumâra, to Trichinopoly and reinstate him on his ancestral throne, and receive and remit the tribute due from him. Giving these instructions to Alivardi Khan in the presence of Baṅgâru Tirumala and further directing him to return (to the North) when these affairs were adjusted, the Nizam returned to his own dominions." But no sooner was the back of his master turned on him than Alivardi Khan became an indifferent agent of his. He had been apparently, at least, ordered to instal the Nâik king promptly, but either a secret understanding with his master, or his own unwillingness to part with the extensive and beautiful region from Trichinopoly to Cape Comerin, made him a tardy executor of his superior's command. Baṅgâru Tirumala did not see that he was a dupe and a plaything in the hands of his Musalman allies, and with characteristic simplicity, he asked Alivardi Khan to hasten his favour, but the latter gave a plausible reply that he would devote himself to his service after the country was reduced to order. At the same time he allotted to the royal exiles the daily stipends of 100 pagodas and Rs. 100 respectively till their return with himself to their capital. As for Baṅgâru, he seems to have believed entirely in the sincerity of his Muhammadan friend. So ardent a believer in it was he, that he spared no efforts to help him in the restoration of order in the discontented province of Arcot. When the people of Veṅkaṭagiri and Kâḷahasti, for instance, defied the power of Anwaru'd-din and defeated, with great slaughter, his armies, Baṅgâru Tirumala it was, we are informed, that

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[2] This was in August 1742. The fact is, as grant Duff says, Murari Rao had never been loyal to his own countrymen. He was guided solely by his interests, and he would fight on behalf of Europeans and Mughals if he could gain advantage. The Nizam recognised him as Chief of Gooty, and he in return gave up Trichinopoly and went away.

[3] This is wrong. He had been murdered in 1742 and Nizam's invasion was caused by that.

[4] Anwaru'd-din was appointed for Carnatic *payinghat* and Hidayat Muhâyu'd-din Khan (Muzaffar Jang) for the Carnatic Proper, with Adôni as *jâgir* and Bijapur for headquarters (Duff).

saved the Nawab and turned disaster into success. The ranks of Anwaru'd-din's army became sorely thinned. His howdah fell into the enemy's hands. Never did the Nawab sustain so serious a disgrace in the hands of such petty chiefs. Baṅgâru Tirumala saw this and argued that the disgrace of the Nawab, inasmuch as the refractory chiefs were his subordinate Polygars, was his own disgrace. He, therefore, took a leading part in the campaign and ultimately succeeded in shattering the Polygar levies.

Anwaru'd-din's Murder of Baṅgaru Tirumala.

The hope of the Baṅgâru Tirumala to secure, by means of his services, the gratitude and the favour of Anwaru'd-din Khan was, however, not destined to be realised. As we have already seen, Anwaru'd-din had his own designs on the Nâik Kingdom and the sanction he gave for pensions to Baṅgâru and his crowned son was evidently intended to be a final disposal of the question The little lingering doubt he may have had was shattered by the heroism which Baṅgâru displayed on his own behalf in the affair of Kâlahasti. The Nawab admired his valour but with the feeling of admiration was combined the feeling of fear. He felt that the restoration of such a man would hardly conduce to the strength of his own position. He, therefore, issued secret orders to his men to remove the regent for ever from his path of ambition. And the murder was perpetrated in a singularly mean manner. In the late war, Baṅgâru had received two wounds of a deadly nature and the Nawab, with a pretended solicitude, sent his own men to dress his wounds and administer medicine. The physicians were then instructed to mix poison with the medicine, so that the patient died within an hour of his taking it.

Vijaya Kumâra's Flight to Sivaganga.

Thus perished the only man who could, if any man at all could have done so, secured the revival of the Nâik power. There is something pathetic, something melancholy, about the figure of this ill-fated prince. Born of a younger line and excluded from the throne by a combination of circumstances he fought without success for the exercise of his power; and when he at length got it by the moderation or the death of his rival, he and the king and kingdom, whose destinies were in his guidance, became the victims of a formidable foreign power. Even in the court of the Nawab he did not lose faith either in the fortunes of himself and his royal son or the honesty of the Nawab, and in that faith he was so firm that he himself took part in the settlement of his country, forgetting or little thinking that, by his loyal assistance, he was only rousing jealousy in the heart of Anwaru'd-din and thus digging his own grave. Never in the annals of Indian history do we find such simplicity and trust repaid by ingratitude and treachery. As for the nominal king of the Nâik dominions, Vijaya Kumâra, he was in a peculiarly hard and embarrassing position. Deprived of his crown and kingdom, of his father and guardian, himself a boy of inexperience, he was in the midst of enemies, the very destroyers of his power and father. Life was no longer safe at the Nawab's

court. Every day the events transpiring therein proved it. For some time after the murder of Baṅgâru, a young son of Safdar Ali, whose guardian Anwaru'd-din was, was also assassinated at the instance of the latter, by a band of Pathans who, under pretence of asking for arrears of pay, raised an altercation, and stabbed the young prince. The only possible claimant of the Nawabship was Chanda Sahib, the son-in-law of Safdar, and he was rotting in the dungeons of Satara. Anwaru'd-din, therefore, became the undisputed Nawab of Arcot. His next measure would be, it was feared, the removal of Vijaya Kumâra also from the scene. The relations of the Nâik chief were alarmed and advised immediate flight. Thus it was that, on a dark night, when the Nawab and his men hardly knew what was happening, Vijaya Kumâra left Arcot with his retinue, and came in hot haste to Sivagaṅga. He could not go to either Trichinopoly or Madura, for these places had been already occupied by the Nawab's own men, and to go thither would be to go straight into the jaws of death."

The chiefs of Râmnâḍ and Sivagaṅga played at this crisis a very noble and honourable part. Frequent sources of trouble as they had been in the time of peace and of Nâik magnificence, they now proved themselves, by their loyalty and support, to be true friends. They welcomed the unfortunate refugee from Muhammadan treachery and behaved towards him as if he was still the undisputed sovereign of his ancestral dominions. They paid him homage, congratulated him on his escape from the scene of danger, and expressed the hope that, with the advent of some legitimate king in the future, his claims would be recognised and his kingdom restored. With great kindness, they urged him to stay till that time in their own estates, and arranged for his comfort and convenience.

The practical end of the Nâik Dynasty.

With the flight of Vijaya Kumâra to Sivagaṅga we may date the extinction of the last hopes of the revival of of the Nâik dynasty. The Nâik dominions were now not under a king tributary to the Nawab, but under the direct rule of that functionary. The legions that garrisoned the Nâik capitals no longer uttered the names of Baṅgâru or Vijaya Kumâra, but openly acknowledged the Nawab as their master. The real king was an exile depending for his safety and support on the precarious loyalty and generosity of his own vassals. From Madras to Cape Comorin, in other words, the whole country, excepting the subordinate kingdoms of Tanjore, Travancore and Cochin, was under the administration of the Nawab. Arcot was henceforth the capital. Trichinopoly and Madura (to which Tinnevelly continued to be attached) were henceforth provincial capitals, the headquarter of the Viceroys appointed by the Nawab. The Polygars had henceforth to wait not on the Telugu descendants of the veterans of Viśvanâtha Nâik, but on the agents and representative of the Muhammadan rule at Arcot.

It was at this juncture that Chanda Sahib effected, thanks to his friendship with Dupleix, his liberation from Satara, and immediately after his emancipation, came to the Carnatic, and set up his claim to the Nawabship. The campaigns which followed, the

simultaneous succession dispute in Hyderabad between Nazir Jang and Muzaffar Jang, and other events are, it is well known, of the greatest moment in Indian history, and they made the English and the French play for the first time an important and conspicuous part in the political affairs of South India.

The exiled Nâik and Chanda Sahib.

When Chanda Sahib, with the assistance of the French, overthrew and slew Anwaru'd-din in the battlefield of Ambur and proclaimed himself the Nawab of the Carnatic in his place, the Nâik capital, within the walls of which Muhammad Ali, the son of Anwaru'd-din took refuge, became the most important place of contest in South India, the bone of contention between the rival claimants to the Nawabship of the Carnatic. Such a circumstance could hardly advance the claims of the phantom monarch, who lived in obscurity in Râmnâd and declared that Trichinopoly was his. The declaration of Chanda Sahib of his mastery over the Carnatic was followed by two events: first his attempt to reduce the provinces of Madura and Tinnevelly which Muhammad Ali, with the assistance of his English allies, had been cautious enough to secure immediately after his flight to Trichinopoly,[5] and secondly to undertake the siege of Trichinopoly. The dominions of the Nâik kings, in fact, became the chief scene of war. Trichinopoly being, owing to its situation and its direct rule by Muhammad Ali, the heart of the contest, and Madura and Tinnevelly the scene of serious fights and engagements. The general of Chanda Sahib who conquered the Southern provinces was an able adventurer named Alam Khan. Endowed with tact and discretion, with the power of leadership and the knack of managing men, Alam gained over the soldiers of Muhammad Ali at Madura by his personal address, and the tenants by his promise, in Chanda Sahib's name, to free them from the arrears of rent due by them to the State. The superior ability and the remarkable personal influence of Alam Khan were of the utmost service to his master, for his possession of Madura meant to Muhammad Ali the loss of more than one-half of his dominions. It moreover severed the communication between the Trichinopoly and Tinnevelly country, and made Chanda Sahib's power as secure in the region of the Tambaparni as in that of the Vaigai. It is not surprising that, under these circumstances, Muhammad Ali endeavoured his best to reconquer Madura. In 1751 he despatched Captain Cope for this purpose; but that general was defeated and compelled to retreat back to Trichinopoly. The French, the Nizam, and Chanda Sahib were exultant and hoped every moment to reduce the place and complete the ruin of Muhammad Ali. The latter had not remained idle. He called in the aid of the English to counter-balance the French, the Marathas under Murari Rao who were more than equal to the Nizam, and the Mysoreans, who hoped in the ruin of Chanda Sahib for territorial acquisitsion. Vigorous fighting went on around Trichinopoly and in the provinces, and the fate of South India trembled in the balance.

(To be continued.)

[5] Madura was brought under Muhammad Ali by an army of 2,500 horse and 3,000 peons (assisted by a detachment of 30 Europeans under Innes) under the command of Abdu'r-Rahim, Muhammad Ali's brother.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

NOTES FROM OLD FACTORY RECORDS.

7. Administrative rule to prevent favouritism.

28 *February* 1689. *Letter from Elihu Yale and Council at Fort St. George to John Stables and Council at Vizagapatam.* We send you also some more assistance, *vizt.* John Oneel, Henery Croke, Thomas Stables, and tho tis not comon for Relations to be togather, yett in respect to his father we now dispence with it, not doubting Mr. Stables will be any ways partiall to his son or spare him from such business as the Honble. Companys service may requier him. *Records of Fort St. George. Letters from Fort St. George.* 1689, p. 13.

R. C. T.

BOOK NOTICE.

ARCHITECTURE AND SCULPTURE IN MYSORE. The Keśava Temple at Somanathpur, by RAO BAHADUR R. NARASIMHACHAR, Director of Archæological Researches in Mysore.

RAO BAHADUR Narasimhachar has undertaken to issue about half a dozen short monographs, with suitable illustrations, on the notable buildings of the Hoysaḷa and Dravidian styles. The present monograph on the wellknown Keśava Temple is the first of the series. It contains 11 pages of description in quarto, 7 pages of introduction, some 15 illustrations and a Devanâgari transliteration, in 4 pages, of the Sanskrit inscriptions at the Temple and at Harihar. The printing of the text and the illustrations has been very neatly executed by the Mysore Government Press at Bangalore.

We notice with satisfaction that "It is under contemplation to prepare and publish a monograph on Hoysaḷa" architecture in Mysore. A synthetic view surveying the entire subject-matter will be more useful than booklets on individual buildings. The latter, however, are not without value.

Mr. Narasimhachar proposes to change the designation style "Chalukyan," popularised by Fergusson, and to call it 'Hoysala style,' for the style attained its fullest development in the dominions of the monarchs of the Hoysala dynasty, and also because "the name Chalukyan is undoubtedly a misnomer, so far as Mysore is concerned, seeing that all the buildings of this style in Mysore were erected during the rule of the Hoysaḷas." The proposal of the learned Director seems to be one which ought to be accepted.

Mr. Narasimhachar has got some 60 artistic buildings of the Hoysaḷa style (*c.* 1047—1286 A.D.) and some 12 buildings of the style called the Dravidian (c. 800—1600 A.D.) in his official jurisdiction. He has thus got sufficiently large materials to build up and present a synthetic picture of Hoysaḷa art.

The Keśava temple was built according to its inscription in 1268 A.D. by Somanâtha, *daṇḍa-nâyaka* under king Narasiṃha III (1254—1291.) It is situated near the left bank of the Kâverî, some 20 miles east of Seringapatam. It is a *trikûṭâchala* or a three-peaked (or as Mr. Narasimhachar calls it a *three-celled*) building, "the main cell facing east and the other two which are opposite to each other, facing north and south respectively." "They are surmounted by three elegantly carved towers, which are identical in design and execution. The two towers are attached to the *Nava raṅga* or the Middle Hall which is again attached to the *Mukha-Maṇḍapa* or Front Hall." On both sides of the entrance, around the Front Hall there runs a *jagati* or railed parapet covered with sculptured freezes of Puranic scenes. Each *kûṭa*, each of the three members of the temple, consists of a *Garbha gṛiha* or adytum and a *sukhanâsi* or vestibule. The chief *kûṭa* opposite the entrance, contained the image of Keśava which is no more to be found there. The height of each tower or *kûṭa* is not given by Mr. Narasimhachar. Fergusson guessed it to be 30 ft.; in Workman's *Through Town and Jungle* it is given as about 32 ft.

The illustration of the two towers which Mr. Narasimhachar gives fully bears out the praise that: "Not a square inch of the surface is without decoration. These towers captivate the mind by their profusion of detail and perfection of outline and there is no suggestion of superfluity in the endless concourse of figures and designs. To construct a building of less than 35 feet in height, load it from bottom to top with carving and produce the effect not only of beauty and perfect symmetry, but also of impressiveness, shows supreme talent on the part of the architects." (Workman).

Grandeur has been produced by an artistic grouping of materials, which in reality are not grand or too small to produce an 'architectural effect.' The structures are not grand, but the *ensemble* is grand. In this lies the greatness of the architects of the Keśava Temple. Mr. Narasimhachar, however, has not himself discussed this aspect. Possibly he is reserving it for his greater work on the Hoysaḷa buildings.

The illustrations of images and inner details (which are accessible only to a Hindu writer) bring us in closer touch with the temple. Many of the images are signed by the artists. The image of Veṇu Gopâla is the most elegant of the illustrated specimens. The exquisite ceilings would furnish fine models for modern buildings.

K. P. J.

A THIRD JOURNEY OF EXPLORATION IN CENTRAL ASIA, 1913-16.

BY SIR AUREL STEIN, K.C.I.E., D.Sc., D.Litt.

(*Continued from p.* 232.)

IN the desert south of the present cultivated area we found interesting remains of far earlier times. My search here was greatly facilitated by the excellent topographical surveys on a large scale, which had been effected under the direction of Mr. G. P. Tate, of the Survey of India, in connection with Sir Henry McMahon's Seistan Mission of 1902–05, and which proved very helpful also in other parts. On this desert ground, which an abandoned old branch of the Helmand had once watered, excessive wind-erosion, acting on alluvial clay had produced conditions exactly corresponding to those I had found in the dried-up delta north of Lop-nor. Since moisture and vegetation had deserted this soil, the scouring effect of the sand driven by the north wind that blows over Seistan, with more or less violence but almost constantly during four months of spring and summer, had lowered the level of the ground to varying depths, down to 20 feet or more, below the original level, except where the surface had been protected by hard débris of some kind. The erosion terraces, thus left rising island-like above the bare plain, were always found thickly covered with prehistoric remains. They consisted of potsherds, often decorated in colours, and stone implements mainly of the Neolithic period, but in places included also relics of the Bronze Age. It was easy to pick up here an abundant archæological harvest literally on the surface.

It was a very interesting and quite unexpected discovery, when in the same area I came upon the remains of a close line of ancient watch-stations, stretching right across the desert from the southernmost Hamun in the direction of the true terminal basin of the Helmand, the marsh and lake-bed of the Gaud-i-Zirreh. It was a fascinating task to trace this Seistan *Limes*, and the experience gained during my explorations along the ancient Chinese border-line once protecting the extreme north-west of Kansu helped me greatly. The fortified frontier posts, solidly built with bricks of great size on a uniform plan, and, as it were, to "specification," were found always to occupy erosion terraces retaining prehistoric pottery débris. Chosen, no doubt, for the sake of increased command of ground and wider outlook, these elevated positions had helped also to save the ruins from complete destruction by the erosive force of wind and sand. The watch-stations were found at distances from half to about 1½ miles apart. The position of sectional headquarters could also be identified by additional structures, etc.

Seistan, in spite of its dreary arid look, does not enjoy a climate quite sufficiently "desiccated" for archæological purposes, as it still receives a fairly regular rainfall of *circ.* 2 inches per annum. So the refuse heaps at these stations, which might have furnished us with interesting dateable records, were found to have decayed into mere odorous layers of earth. But a variety of archæological finds and observations pointed to centuries near the commencement of our era, as the time when this ancient border-line was established. Its object was clearly to protect the cultivated portion of the Helmand delta against raids of nomadic tribes in the south, corresponding in character and habits, if not in race too, to the present Baluch and Brahui tribes to be found there. I cannot indicate here in detail the curious points of analogy presented to the ancient Chinese frontier line of Kansu constructed *circ.* 100 B.C. against Hun raids from Turkestan. But I may hint at least at an interesting question which suggests itself in view of the geographical position. Would one be justified in regarding this fortified desert border of Seistan as a link between that ancient "Chinese

Wall" in the desert and the *Limes* lines by which Imperial Rome guarded its marches in Syria and elsewhere in the Near East against barbarian inroads? Only from future researches can we hope for a safe answer.

From these desert surveys I returned to the inhabited portion of Persian Seistan by the beginning of January, 1916, and was kept busy during a few weeks with the examination of the numerous ruins surviving there. Almost all proved of mediæval Muhammadan origin or even more recent, a fact which the physical conditions of the present Helmand delta easily account for. At two sites, however, which their high level has protected from the effects of irrigation of periodic inundation, I discovered definite archæological evidence of ancient occupation. At the large ruined stronghold known as Shahristan, occupying a high alluvial terrace, this included pottery fragments inscribed in early Aramaic characters.

I should have much liked to visit the Afghan portion of Seistan, to the north of the Helmand, where Sir Henry McMahon's Mission and earlier travellers had found a large number of ruins still awaiting expert examination. Permission for such a visit could, however, not be secured, and I did not feel altogether surprised at it. So, after collecting useful anthropometric materials which help to illustrate the curious mixture of races in the population of Seistan, I returned to the desert south and supplemented my survey of the ancient *Limes* by some rapid excavations. They disclosed interesting details as to the construction and internal arrangements of those ruined watch-stations and the life once led there.

Thence I set out by the beginning of last February for the return journey to India, whither most of my archæological finds from Seistan, filling twelve cases, had already preceded me. I travelled by the Seistan-Nushki trade route, which the zeal of Captain (now Colonel) F. Webb Ware, of the Indian Political Department, had first pioneered through the desert some twenty years ago. Well known as the route is, this desert journey of close on 500 miles through the wastes of Baluchistan had for me a special interest. I could not have wished for a better modern illustration of the conditions once prevailing on that ancient route through the Lop desert, which the Chinese had opened about 110 B.C. for the expansion of their trade and political influence westwards, and which two years before I succeeded in tracking through those waterless wastes after sixteen centuries of abandonment.

It is true that wells of tolerably good water at most of the stages, comfortable rest-houses at all, and good camel grazing to be found at half a dozen points, made progress along this modern desert track seem child's play compared with what we had gone through. Even in ancient times the physical difficulties successfully overcome by those early Chinese pioneers must have been vastly greater than those which the route to Seistan ever presented in the days before its improvements. And yet the latter, by the political reasons which have necessitated its opening, by its purpose, by the character of the traffic I found moving along it, provided a most striking analogy, and neither as a geographer nor as a historical student could I fail to appreciate its significance.

By February 21 I reached Nushki, whence the railway carried me to Delhi. During my week's stay at the Indian capital I received fresh proof of the kind personal interest with which His Excellency the Viceroy, Lord Hardinge, had from the start followed and encouraged my enterprise. There, too, I was able to meet again some of my oldest friends in India, to whom I had never appealed in vain for such official support as they could give to my scientific labours. A subsequent brief visit to Dehra Dun, the Survey of India headquarters, enabled me to arrange for the suitable publications of the topographical results brought back from this journey, in an atlas of maps. At the same time I secured the admission of

Afrazgul Khan to the Survey Department's service under conditions which open up to this capable young assistant the amply deserved prospects of a good career. When I subsequently paid a brief visit to Sir Michael O'Dwyer, the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, at Lahore, I had the great satisfaction of learning from this kind old friend that the splendid services which R. B. Lal Singh had rendered to Government for a lifetime were to be recognized by a grant of land on one of the new Punjab canals. It meant the realization of my devoted old travel companion's most cherished hope, and a reward such as I had always wished to secure for him. Finally, after the middle of March I reached Srinagar, in Kashmir, my favourite base, from which my expedition had been begun in July, 1913. It had lasted close on two years and eight months, and the aggregate of the distances covered by my marches amounted to nearly 11,000 miles.

At Srinagar the 182 cases of my collection of antiquities from Turkestan had safely arrived by October, and there the greatest part of the work demanded by its arrangement and detailed examination will have to be done with the expert help of my old friend and collaborator, Mr. F. H. Andrews, now Director of the Technical Institute and Industrial Art School of the Kashmir State.

The elucidation of the antiquities brought to light by the thousand, and in such great variety of place, time, and character, will involve heavy and manifold labours, and for them and the proper decipherment of the abundant manuscript remains, recovered in about a dozen of different scripts and languages, the help of quite a staff of expert scholars will be needed. The Government of India, though intending that the whole of my collection shall ultimately be deposited in the new museum planned at Delhi, fully realized that this expert help can for the most part be secured only in this country and in France, where after my former expedition, too, I had found the most helpful and important of my collaborators. So I was given permission temporarily to bring here whatever materials stood in need of specialist examination and research, and to come myself to England for a time to make all necessary arrangements in person. But after all the efforts and toils it has cost to recover those relics of past ages from their safe resting-places in the desert it would have obviously been unwise to expose a great and valuable portion of them to the grave risks to be faced at present on a long sea voyage round the shores of Europe. So I decided to transfer myself only across the seas, and to use a short rest in England for preparing a preliminary record of the results achieved and for organizing well in advance the work of my future collaborators.

After the greatest struggle which the history of mankind has known had lasted two years, I returned to England fully prepared for considerable changes, and I found such, some sad, some reassuring and hopeful. But no change has affected the kind interest shown in my scientific efforts by old friends within the Royal Geographical Society and outside, and the encouragement derived from this boon I shall ever remember with gratitude.

Before the paper the President of the Royal Geographical Society said: Our business this evening is to welcome Sir Aurel Stein, one of our most distinguished Asiatic travellers, on his return from his third journey to the heart of Asia. He needs no introduction here. We have heard him more than once in this hall, and we know how much he has done, not only as a geographer, as a cartographer, as a surveyor, but also as an archæologist. We know that his travels have led him to one of the most interesting regions on the Earth's surface, where from times long before the beginning of our era the trade to and from Europe and the Nearer East crossed the Chinese frontier. Sir Aurel Stein has got so much to tell us that I am sure the best thing I can is to ask him at once to begin his discourse.

The Secretary of State for India, Mr. Austen Chamberlain, said: When I came here to-night as the guest of one of your members, and even when on entering this building you expressed a desire that I should say a few words in the course of the evening, I did not quite understand the position of prominence which you intended to allocate to me, and I am afraid that I am wholly unfitted for it. I am not a fellow of your Society and I am afraid if any geographical knowledge, let alone any geographical exploration, is necessary to qualify for that position, I shall never attain to it. My recollections of geography are of a painful study which, laboriously acquired, was inevitably quickly forgotten; a study of maps of which most were already too full, and which it is the business of your Society to crowd with still more details. You and perhaps the auidence will feel that these confessions hardly indicate my fitness for my present position; but at least I am trying to improve. I had the pleasure of welcoming Sir Aurel Stein at the India Office, in virtue of the position I hold there, and though I learned very little from him in the brief and very modest account which he gave me of his travels, it was at any rate sufficient to make me feel the importance of the work which he had done, and the immense interests of the results which he had achieved. I think I may fairly say—for I had nothing to do with his travels at any stage—that he was fortunate in the collaboration of the representatives of two Governments. He had the good will of the Government of India, and, as we are glad to recognize, he enjoyed equally the good will of the Russian authorities. By their aid, and above all by his own indomitable perseverance, his courage, his endurance, and his enthusiasm, he has achieved results which are of interest to all of us, which are of importance to the Governments of India and of Russia, and which, I venture to add, will serve to confirm the high reputation which he has won among explorers. I am not fitted to initiate a discussion of the kind you have invited. I am glad to pay my tribute—and to pay my tribute as Secretary of State for India—to what Sir Aurel Stein has done; but for a learned discussion of his work you must turn to other and greater authorities.

The President: Mr. Austen Chamberlain has alluded to one of the happiest points in the explorations of Sir Aurel Stein—that they constitute a new link in the friendship between the two great Empires that share the larger part of Asia, England and Russia. We are happy in having here to-night the distinguished Russian officer General Baron Kaulbars. I do not know if he would be kind enough to say a few words to us. (*General Baron Kaulbars bowed his acknowledgements.*)

Sir Hercules Read (British Museum): I am personally very glad to say a few words in order to bear my small testimony to the extraordinary qualities that my old friend Sir Aurel Stein has brought to bear upon the varied aspects of the journey that he has just described to us. I know nobody among all the explorers whom I have met, who has greater capacity for carrying on archæological and geographical work under conditions that we all can imagine, after having seen that beautiful series of slides he has put before us. In the intervals of extremely tedious marches he has devoted himself to archæological research in temperatures and climates which are very trying, and, as in former years, he has brought home a collection of antiquarian remains which have opened up fresh fields to archæologists in these islands. For this we who perforce remain at home are most grateful, and not only to Sir Aurel Stein but in a very great degree to the authorities at the India Office. The atmosphere at this meeting is naturally a geographical one, and I feel that the importation of archæological questions is somewhat of an intrusion; but I can speak only about my own business. Sir Aurel Stein has given us from time to time a *résumé* of his geographical discoveries, using

archæology, if I may say so, as a series of signposts; and very useful he has found it, as he has confessed. But when one considers that he begins with the Palæolithic period, which you may put back to any remote date, and comes up to something like the seventh or eighth century, and that we have withal not one single piece of these antiquarian remains before us, it is somewhat hopeless to discuss the archæological questions at present. When these remains come to Europe to be studied they will be distributed amongst a number of distinguished scholars, and will then go back to the Central Indian Museum which is to be established at Delhi. That, I am sure, is a very proper place for them. I have myself taken considerable interest in the Museum, and have gladly given advice on certain administrative points regarding it; but a difficulty I find as an archæologist, domiciled in England and incapable of leaving it for more than a few months, is that there will be no opportunity for European students ever to consult these antiquities, except for those fortunate ones who are able to go anywhere at any time and for as long as they please. Sir Aurel Stein's first antiquarian results were divided between the Government of India and the British Museum. There is no difficulty therefore to some extent in still seeing in England the type of object that was discovered on the first expedition. With regard to the later expeditions the case is different, and I think presents a difficulty for the people living in the British Islands of judging the culture that belongs to Central Asia, to these ancient civilizations, dating from a century or two before our era to several centuries afterwards. Beyond the small collections to be found in Paris, nowhere in Europe will any of these remains be seen. It seems to me a pity that these objects of extraordinary interest, covering almost all periods of human activity and human industry, are not to be represented at all in these islands. I think that some measures should be taken by which adequate representations of these very interesting historical and religious remains should find their place somewhere within reach of the ordinary British citizen.

Sir Francis Younghusband: As a traveller in both Chinese Turkestan and also on the Pamirs I can testify to the splendid exploit of our lecturer this evening. I know well the hardships he must have gone through and the indomitable courage which actuated him in carrying out these explorations. Since the time of the great Russian, General Prjevalsky, there has been no traveller in Central Asia who has shown so great a persistence over such a large number of years, and such courage and determination in carrying out his explorations, or has brought back such fruitful results, as Sir Aurel Stein. I wish to congratulate him most sincerely on his magnificent achievement.

Sir Henry Trotter: Some years ago I had the pleasure on the occasion of Sir Aurel Stein's last lecture before the Society of congratulating him on the success of his work, and I laid particular stress upon the magnetic influence by which he seemed to attract such very different persons as the Trustees of the British Museum, the Viceroy of India, the *personnel* with whom he worked, and last but not least the Taotai of the Temple of the Thousand Buddhas. It is gratifying to note that he has by no means lost that magnetic power, as is proved by the record of his journey, the splendid work of his surveyor Lal Singh, and the excellent reception of the lecturer by the Russian and other authorities with whom he came in contact.

I should have liked to have made some remarks on a good many points [see note following the discussion], but the lateness of the hour prevents me from doing so. I will only take up your time with one. I was in Central Asia forty-three years ago and know many parts of the ground described by Sir Aurel. The point to which I wish to refer is the great problem as to the principal source of the Oxus River.

Lord Curzon a good many years ago gave in this hall an account of his travels in the Pamirs, and of his discovery in the mountains of Kanjud of a glacier from which flowed a river that, as he maintained, was the principal source of the Oxus. As a result of my own

previous observations I (in common with some Russian geographers) looked upon the Little Pamir Lake, also fed by glaciers, as the principal source. From the lake a river, the Aksu, flows eastward, then north, and then north-west as the Murghabi, and later on as the Bartang River, which joins the Panjah branch of the Oxus a few miles above Kila Wamar, where the river makes a great branch to the west.

Lord Curzon maintained that his (*i.e.*, the Panjah) branch was the more considerable of the two. I adduced the testimony of an Indian native surveyor, who had visited the spot and clearly proved that the Bartang River at the time he visited it had a much greater flow of water than the Panjah; but Lord Curzon produced the testimony of a reliable European witness to prove that when he visited it, at another season of the year, the Panjah branch contained much more water than the Bartang. Both statements were probably true; but for my part I stuck to my theory. I regret that the lecturer has told us this evening that the Bartang River has now been completely blocked up from the effects of an earthquake, that a large lake has been formed, and that it is unlikely that any water will flow down the Bartang into the Oxus for many years to come. So at last I must confess myself vanquished.

Colonel C. E. Yate: I am delighted to add any words I can to congratulate Sir Aurel Stein on his return. We have all watched the news that has been received from him from time to time with the greatest interest, and are delighted to see him back here again. We are looking forward to seeing the results of his finds displayed here as soon as the roads are safe. As to what has just been said regarding the final disposition of the treasures I too think that a certain amount should remain in this country, and all should not be taken back to India. It seems to me a fair thing to leave some part at any rate for show in this country. I cannot see any reason why all should be taken back to Delhi, as I understand from Sir Hercules Read, is the present intention. I congratulate Sir Aurel Stein most heartily on his journey, and we all join in thanking him for the paper he has given us.

Dr. Barnett: I well remember seven years ago when this Society met to hear Sir Aurel Stein's report of his second expedition and expressed appreciation of his work. It was felt that Sir Aurel Stein had added not only great areas to the Trigonometrical Survey, but even greater realms to knowledge. Further study has confirmed that view, because we have found in result that his second journey was rich to an almost inconceivable degree. His archæological discoveries throw enormous light on the ancient history of that important region which he has covered, and his literary documents have opened up new areas of literature. Similarly, his ethnological studies have been fruitful. Now Sir Aurel Stein, with his usual habit of eclipsing himself, has returned from a third expedition that has exceeded his former ones in importance, inasmuch as he has nearly doubled the net archæological proceeds of the last. From the second journey he came home with 96 cases; now he has 182, after having traversed nearly 11,000 miles. I have no doubt that, in the same way as his previous journey was epoch-making in many ways, so the results of this journey will be equally epoch-making, and I feel sure that this Society in honouring him is doing honour to itself.

The President: At this what Dr. Mill would call "fraudulently late hour of the evening" I will not keep you longer, but I am sure you will wish me to say a few words of most hearty thanks to Sir Aurel Stein for the very brilliant and exhaustive account he has given us of his labours in these barren and difficult regions of Central Asia—labours that are double-sided in a way I think few travellers' have been. The manner in which he first rushes over a series of glacier passes—and so many of them that I believe they would have given even the Alpine Club a surfeit—and then turns to explore buried cities and study the civilization of two thousand years ago is almost unique. We owe, I hold, special gratitude to travellers who go to the very ugly places of the Earth. It is a great temptation to most of us to go only to the beautiful places. When we see those pictures of interminable sand-dunes and rocky hummocks torn asunder and laid bare by the most cruel winds, we feel that the man

who for the sake of geographical knowledge and archæology would linger among them deserves a double meed of thanks. The results are extremely interesting, because we find that these desert-places once maintained a great population. This fact opens up many subjects of inquiry, historical, meteorological, changes of climate, migrations of peoples. We also find this charm in these particular trade-routes, that they were the old trade-routes between Greeks and Romans and the farthest East. Sir Aurel Stein tells me that in those days the trade caravans must have gone, not over the easiest routes but over hundreds of miles of desert, in order to avoid the marauding tribes who were living where there was some possibility of human beings living happily. We have followed, perhaps with some difficulty owing to its very complexity and richness, the account of his labours put forward by Sir Aurel Stein. We shall all read it with the deepest interest when published in the *Geographical Journal*, and we may hope that it will not be published without specimens of the appropriate illustrations which we have admired to-night. The perseverance with which Sir Aurel Stein photographed as he went along is, even in these days of photography, deserving of the highest praise. I will say no more, but offer to him the very hearty thanks of this meeting and all geographers in this country and the rest of Europe—except perhaps in Berlin, where they may grudge him some of his Buddhist frescoes I am sure his reputation over Europe as one of the greatest travellers of modern times is now firmly established. Three times we have seen him here and each time he comes back with a richer harvest than he did the time before.

Additional Note by Sir Henry Trotter.

I at one time took considerable interest in the geography of the Oxus below Kila Wamar. In the spring of 1874, when leaving Wakhan to return to India, I despatched the Munshi Abdul's Subhan (an employé of the Survey of India) to follow the course of the river from Kila Panjah to Roshan and Shighnan. The account of his journey was published in the R. G. S. *Journal*, vol. 48, pp. 210–217. He followed the course of the river for 60 miles from Kila Panjah to Ishkashim, where turning northwards he followed the Oxus for nearly 100 miles further, passing successively through the districts of Gharan, Shighnan, and Roshan—countries which had hitherto only been known to us by name. He could not penetrate beyond Kila Wamar, the chief town of Roshan; but curiously enough another employé of the Survey, "The Havildar," who had been dispatched by the late General Walker from India in 1873 on an independent exploration, went from Kabul to Faizabad, the capital of Badakhshan, and thence started on a tour which, combined with the Munshi's exploration to Kila Wamar, entirely altered the map of that hitherto little-known portion of Central Asia. He visited the towns of Kolab, Khawaling, Sagri Dasht, Kila Khum (the capital of Darwaz), Kila Wanj, and Yaz-Ghulam. At Kila Khum the Havildar struck the Oxus (still called the Panjah), and his road for 40 miles lay on the right bank of the river—never previously mapped or, as far as I know, visited by any explorer. At Yaz-Ghulam, the eastern frontier village of Darwaz, he was unfortunately turned back—just as he had got within a long day's march of the Munshi's farthest point at Kila Wamar. The Havildar, who was ignorant of what the Munshi had done only a few weeks previously to his own arrival at Yaz-Ghulam, was most anxious to complete his own work. In order to do so he went back by Kolab to Ishkashim, and endeavoured to make a survey down the river to Yaz-Ghulam; but he was again stopped, this time at the southern frontier of Shighnan, and was prevented from carrying out his intentions. Thus there was a gap between the explorations of the Havildar and the Munshi, the existence of which was much regretted; fortunately the missing link was a short one—some 20 miles as the crow flies. A Russian scientific mission visited these parts ten years later, in 1883; but the map then compiled differs greatly from their latest published map of 1910, which again differs from an intermediate map published in 1900. I fancy that accurate surveys of these little-known countries have still to be made.

JOB CHARNOCK—HIS PARENTAGE AND WILL.

BY SIR R. C. TEMPLE, BT.

ALTHOUGH much has been written concerning the Founder of Calcutta, his origin has hitherto been wrapped in obscurity. It has now been my good fortune to clear up this point. While annotating a series of 17th century letters, written in India and now appearing in *Notes and Queries*,[1] the occurrence in the collection of a letter from Charnock induced me to try to establish his parentage.

Sir George Forrest in his article on Job Charnock[2] gave an abstract of his will. Among the legacies was one to "the poor of the parish of Cree Church, London." This led me to believe that by birth he was a citizen of London, and a search among the wills proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury resulted in the discovery of his father, Richard Charnock.

The will of Richard Charnock[3] is an interesting document and I therefore give it in full.

"**In the Name of God Amen** the second day of Aprill Anno Domini one Thousand Six Hundred Sixty Three And in the Fifteenth year of the Reigne of our Soveraigne Lord Charles the Second by the grace of God King of England Scotland France and Ireland defender of the Faith &c. I Richard Charnocke of the parish of St. Mary Woollchurch London Yeoman being in good health of Body and of perfect mind and memory (praysed be God therefore)-But considering the Frailty and uncertainty of this present life Doe therefore make and ordaine this my present Testament (conteyning therein my last will) in manner and forme following (That is to say)

"First and principally I recommend my soule to Almighty God my maker and Creator hopeing and stedfastly beleiveing through his grace and the alone meritts of Jesus Christ my blessed Saviour and Redeemer to receive full and Free pardon and forgivenes of all my sinnes and life everlasting

"My body I Committ to the Earth To be buried in the parish Church of St. Katherine Creechurch London And my will is That not above the summe of Eight pounds shall be spent upon the Charge of my funerall And I will that all such debts and duties as I shall truly owe to any person or persons att the tyme of my decease shall be well and truly paid within as short a tyme after my decease as may be conveniently

"And as touching That worldly meanes and estate That it hath pleased Almighty God of his mercy and goodness to bestow upon me (my debts by me oweing and my funerall Charges thereout first paid or deducted) I doe give devise bequeath and dispose thereof in manner and forme following (That is to say)—

"First I give and bequeath unto my sonne Stephen Charnocke All that my messuage Tenement or Inne with the appurtenances comonly called or knowne by the name or signe of the Bell scytuate lying and being in Markett Streete in the County of Bedford And all the land now thereunto belonging and therewith used All which premisses are now in the tenure of George Sayers or his assignes To have and to hold the same unto my said sonne Stephen Charnock and his assignes for the terme of his naturall life And the Reversion of the said Messuage and Land with the appurtenances expectant after the decease of my said sonne Stephen Charnocke I doe give and devise unto the Parson and Church wardens of the Parish of Pennerton[4] in the County of Lancaster And to their successors and assignes for ever upon Trust and confidence that out of the Rents thereof The said Parson

[1] *Correspondence of Richard Edwards*, 1669-78 (N. & Q. from Jan., 1917).
[2] *Blackwood's Magazine*, June, 1902, pp. 771-782.
[3] *Wills, P. C. C.*, 58 *Hyde*.
[4] Penwortham, a parish in the hundred of Leyland, Lancaster, two miles S. W. of Preston.

and Churchwardens and their Successors shall yearly and every yeare forever place out to Apprentice in London Two poore Boyes borne in Hutton [5] in the said parish of pennerton, or within some other village or place in the same parish

"Item I give and bequeath unto my said sonne Stephen Charnocke the summe of Twenty pounds of lawfull money of England And a Trunke with Barres Corded upp with such Lynnen and other things as are or shall be therein att the tyme of my decease

"Item I give and bequeath unto my sonne Job Charnocke the summe of six hundred pounds of lawfull money of England

"Item I give to my brother William Marsh the summe of Twenty pounds of lawfull money of England And to my sister Mary Marsh his wife the summe of Forty shillings of like money And to each of their Foure Children now at home with them the summe of Forty shillings a peece of like money

"Item I give unto Samuell Waters Grocer in Candleweeke Street [6] London the summe of Tenn shillings of like money to buy him a Ring

"Item I give unto Mr Thomas Bateman Merchant sometymes servant to Mr Michaell Markeland the summe of Six pounds of lawfull money of England And unto James Hall Woollen draper in Candleweeke streete aforesaid the like summe of Six pounds of like money

"The Rest and residue of all and singuler my goods Chattells ready moneyes Plate Leases debts and other things whatsoever to me belonging and not before in these presents given and bequeathed I give and bequeath unto my said Two Sonnes Stephen Charnocke and Job Charnocke to be equally devided between them which said Stephen Charnocke and Job Charnocke my sonnes I Doe make ordeine and appoint the full executors of this my present Testament and Last will

"And I Doe make nominate and appoint my said brother William Marsh and the said Thomas Bateman and James Hall the Executors of this my will in Trust for the benefitt of my said sonnes in case my said sonnes shall be out of England att the tyme of my decease And my will and mind is That if my said sonne Job Charnocke shall happen to depart this life before his returne to England Then the Six hundred pounds to him above herein bequeathed shall be disposed of and accrew as followeth (That is to say) one Hundred pounds thereof shall accrue and come to the Five Children of my said brother William Marsh in equall shares and proportions And the other Five hundred pounds residue thereof shall come and accrue to my said sonne Stephen Charnock

"And my will and mind is That my Executors in Trust in the absence of my sonnes shall have power to put forth any moneyes of myne att Interest for the benefitt of my sonnes The bonds for which moneyes Soe to be put out shall be taken in the names of my said Executors in Trust and in the Conditions of the same the moneyes shall be expressed to be for the use of my said sonnes And then and in such case if any losse doe happen to my Estate my Executors shall not be therewith Chargeable

And I doe hereby revoke all former wills by me made And doe declare This my present Testament to be my very last will and none other In witnes whereof I have hereunto sett my hand and seale the day and yeare First above written.

"The marke of the said Richard Charnocke

[5] A township in Penwortham containing a free grammar school.

[6] Candlewick Street, at the east end of "Great Eastcheape," now known as Cannon Street.

"Signed sealed Published and declared and delivered by the said Richard Charnocke the Testator as and for his last will and Testament in the presence of John Alsope Scrivener William Braxton and John Bargeman his Servants."

Probate was granted to Stephen Charnocke on the 2nd June 1665, power being reserved to issue the same to Job, the other executor, on his return to England.

The Charnocks were a Lancashire family. They are said to have assumed the local name of their dwelling places in Leyland Hundred in that county, and to have given them the distinguishing epithets of Charnock Richard, Heath Charnock and Charnock Gogard. These are all mentioned in the 13th century and the villages of Charnock Richard and Charnock Heath are still so called.

The legacy of Richard Charnock to Penwortham and Hutton indicates that he had cause to be specially interested in those parishes, one of which may have been his birthplace. Unfortunately, the early registers of Penwortham, which might have cleared up this point, were destroyed by fire in 1857.

A branch of the Charnock family settled in London and another in Hullcott, Bedfordshire, both in the 16th century, and Richard Charnock, as a London citizen and the owner of property in Bedford, may possibly have been connected with both branches; but no actual proof is forthcoming.

As regards the relationship between Richard and Job Charnock there can be no reasonable doubt. No record has been found of any other Job Charnock at this period and the fact that Richard Charnock's younger son was out of England when the will was drawn up goes far to establish his identity with the famous Anglo-Indian. There is, moreover, the additional proof of Job's bequest to the poor of the district in which Richard Charnock resided.

The identification of Richard Charnock's elder son Stephen presents rather more difficulty. There is a great temptation to connect him with Stephen Charnock, puritan divine and chaplain to Henry Cromwell (a son of the Protector), and there are several reasons in favour of this theory. The divine was born in the parish of St. Katharine Cree in 1628, where Job also appears to have been born some two or three years later. Subsequently, Richard Charnock probably removed to the parish of St. Mary Woolchurch[7] where he died. At any rate, the divine's father was also a Richard Charnock. The absence in the will of any allusion to Stephen's profession may be accounted for in two ways. First, the chaplain had fallen into ill odour after the Protector's death and he remained in obscurity in London for fifteen years with no regular charge. Secondly, Richard Charnock was probably a Royalist and High Churchman and consequently would have little sympathy with his son's puritanical views. The main obstacle to the identification of the divine with the brother of Job Charnock lies in the statement in Wood's *Athenæ* (ed. Bliss, III, 1234-6) that Stephen's father, Richard Charnock, was "an attorney or solicitor," However, I have searched in vain for any record of a Richard Charnock, solicitor at this period. I have also discovered but one will of a Stephen Charnock[8] and this was proved in 1680, the date given as that of the death of the divine.[9] I am therefore inclined to think that the *Athenæ* must be in error and that Richard Charnock, yeoman, was the father of both Henry Cromwell's chaplain and the founder of Calcutta.

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[7] The church of St. Mary Woolchurch was not rebuilt after the great fire of 1666. Its site was roughly that of the present Mansion House.

[8] *Wills, P. C C.*, 92 *Bath.*

[9] See the article on Stephen Charnock in the *Dictionary of National Biography.*

It now only remains to quote the will of Job Charnock who spent at least 37 years of his life in India and ended his days there on the 10th January, 1693. The will was dated from the infant settlement of Chuttanuttee (Sûtanatî), afterwards to become famous as Calcutta. So far as I am aware, no complete copy of the document has been printed and I therefore give it in full.[10]

In the name of God Amen.

" I Job Charnock at present Agent for Affaires of the Right honoble. English East India Company in Bengall being indisposed in body but perfect and sound in mind and memory doe make and ordaine this to be my last Will and Testament (*Vizt.*)

"Imprimis I bequeath my soul to Almighty God who gave it and my body to be decently buryed at the discretion of my Overseers and for what estate it hath pleased Almighty God to bless me withall I doe hereby will and bequeath it as followeth.

"Secondly I will and bequeath that all debts or claimes lawfully made on me be discharged by my Overseers.

"Thirdly I give and bequeath to my beloved Friend Daniel Sheldon[11] Esquire Seventy pounds Sterling as a Legacy to buy him a Ring.

"Fourthly I give and bequeath to the honble. Nath [aniel] Higginson[12] as a Legacy to buy him a Ring four hundred Rupees.

"Sixthly I give and bequeath to Mr. John Hill[13] as a Legacy to buy him a Ring two hundred Rupees and that likewise he be paid out of my parte of the permission Trade Commission one hundred Rupees more in all three hundred Rupees.

"Seventhly I give and bequeath to Mr. Francis Ellis[14] as a Legacy to buy him a Ring one hundred and fifty Rupees.

"Eighthly I doe hereby ordaine and appointed [*sic*] the honble. Nathaniel Higginson President of Madras and Mr. John Beard[15] of Councill in Bengall to be overseers[16] of this my will.

"Ninthly I give and bequeath to the poore of the Parish of Cree Church London the Summe of fifty pounds Sterling.

"Tenthly I give and bequeath to Budlydasse [Badlî Das] one hundred Rupees and the meanest sort of my sonns Cloathes lately deceased.

"Eleventhly I give and bequeath to the Doctor now attending me fifty Rupees.

"Twelfthly I give and bequeath to my Servants Gunnyshams [Ghanśyâm] and Dallub [Dalab] each twenty Rupees.

"Thirteenthly I give and bequeath after the payment of the abovementioned debts Legacies that all my whole Estate in India and elsewhere be equally given and distributed to my three daughters Mary Elizabeth and Katherine only with this reservation that as an addition to my daughter Marys portion there shall be paid her out of my daughter Eliza [beths] and Katherines two thirds Six hundred pounds Sterling.

"Fourteenthly I will and desire my Overseers beforementioned that my three daughters be sent with a convenient handsome equipage for England and recommended to the Care of my well beloved friend Daniell Sheliton [*sic*] Esqr. in London and that their Estates

[10] *Wills, P. C. C.*, 91 *Irby*.

[11] Chief at Kâsimbâzâr, 1658-1665. He returned to England in 1666.

[12] Governor of Fort St. George, Madras, 1692-98.

[13] Captain John Hill, "Secretary and Captain of the Soldiers." See Yule, *Hedges' Diary*, II. 92.

[14] Then Second of Council at Hûglî. He died at Fort St. George in 1704.

[15] Governor of Bengal, 1701-1710.

[16] Executors in Bengal.

be invested in goods proper for Europe and sent as by the Right honoble. Companies Permission on as many and such shipps as my Overseers shall think convenient.

"Fifteenthly I hereby acquitt Mr. Charles Pate from his debt to me of Fifty Pagodas lent him at the Fort.[17]

"Lastly I will and ordaine the honoble. Daniell Sheldon and my eldest daughter Mary Charnock to be Executors of this my last will and Testament revoaking and disanulling all former or other Will or Wills that have beene made in witness whereof I have hereunto putt my hand and seale this ninth day of January one thousand Six hundred and ninety two [1692/3].

JOB CHARNOCK

Signd and Sealed in the presence of Jonathan White
Francis Houghton
John Hill."

Probate was granted on the 12th June, 1695, to Robert Dorrell, attorney to Mary Charnock, Daniel Sheldon renouncing.

Job Charnock's behest with regard to his daughters' return to England was disregarded. The three girls, children of his native wife, remained in India and married there. Mary became the first wife of Charles Eyre, Charnock's successor as Agent in Bengal. She died on the 19th February, 1697. Elizabeth married William Bowridge, a junior merchant in the Company's service. He died in April, 1724 and his widow survived in Calcutta until August, 1753. Mary Charnock, Job's youngest daughter, married Jonathan White, also a servant of the Company. He became Second of Council and died in Calcutta on the 3rd January, 1704, three years after the death of his young wife.

It is interesting to trace the fate of Job Charnock's bequest to the poor of his native parish. A vestry minute of St. Katharine Cree of the 28th August, 1695, records the gift of "Mr. Job Charnock, late of the East Indies, merchant, of 50*l.* to the poor of this parish," and further states that it was ordered at that vestry, that "in consideration of the said 50*l.* the poor should have distributed amongst them 3*l.* yearly, for ever, by two equal payments, upon the 5th November and 5th February."

At a subsequent vestry, held on the 1st February, 1699, it was ordered that "the 50*l.* given to the parish for the use of the poor by Mr. Job Charnock, and the 100*l.* given for the like use by Mr. John Jackson should be settled on the house belonging to the parish, situate in Fenchurch-street, and the said house was thereby charged with the repayment thereof, with five per cent. interest, such interest being 7*l.* 10*s.*, to be yearly paid for the use of the poor.[18]

In 1860, the house, No. 91, Fenchurch-street, was let on lease to John Moore for a term of 21 years from Christmas, 1849, at the rent of £42 per annum, and Charnock's £2-10-0 interest was carried to the bread account for the distribution of twenty 2-lb. loaves to 20 persons every Sunday.

For the later history of the bequest I am indebted to Mr. Henry Bowyear, Chief Charity Commissioner, who informs me that "The house, No. 91, Fenchurch-street, was taken under the provisions of Michael Angelo Taylor's Act (57 Geo. III. c. XXIX) and the purchase money was paid into Court and was represented by a sum of £ 1,949-10-8 Consols. By the statement prepared under the City of London Parochial Charities Act, 1883, for the Parish of St. Katharine Cree, this sum is scheduled as the endowment of the three Charities of Richard Lingham, Job Charnock and John Jackson, and by the operation of that Act and the Central Scheme made thereunder, on the 23rd February, 1891, it was merged in the Central Fund of the City Parochial Foundation."

[17] Fort St. George, Madras.

[18] *Reports made to the Charity Commissioners, Accounts and Papers* (H. of C. Vols. 71 and 334 of 1904).

THE DATE OF KANISHKA.

BY RAMESH CHANDRA MAJUMDAR, M.A., CALCUTTA.

THE most characteristic feature of all the recent discussion about the date of Kanishka is the tacit admission of the scholars that the initial year of his reign must be either 58 B.C. or A.D. 78. Both the theories are, however, beset with serious difficulties that have been quite clearly brought forth in the discussion held in the hall of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.[1] I propose, therefore, to offer my own views[2] about the matter, which are substantially different from those mentioned above.

Two classes of evidence alone throw direct light on the question of Kanishka: the Chinese historical texts, and Indian coins and inscriptions. I believe that if they are interpreted without any bias, they agree in placing Kanishka in the first half of the third century A. D. I propose to show how the evidence of Chinese history directly leads to this inference, which is again supported by the Indian evidence when interpreted without any pre-existing bias.

Chinese Evidence: Two Chinese historical texts throw important light upon the history of the Indo-Kushans. These are the "Heou Han Chou" or the "History of the Later Han Dynasty" and the "Wei-lio". The former covers the period between A. D. 25 and 220 and was composed by Fan-Ye who died in A.D. 445. The latter was composed by Yu Houan between A.D. 239 and 265, and the events mentioned in it come down to the period of Emperor Ming (A. D. 227-239).[3]

Fan-Ye gives the following accounts of the Kushan conquest of India:

"In old days the Yue-chi were vanquished by the Hioungnu. They then went to Tahia and divided the kingdom among five 'gabgous,' *viz.* those of Hieou-mi, Chouang-mi, Kouei-chouang, Hitouen and Tou-mi. More than hundred years after that, the Yabgou of Kouei-chouang (Kushan) named K'ieou-tsieou-kio (Kozoulo, Kadphises) attacked and vanquished the four other 'Yabgous' and called himself king; the name of his kingdom was Kushan. He invaded Ngan-si (Parthia) and took possession of the territory of Kaofu (Kabul). He also overcame Pouta and Kipin (Kasmir ?) and became completely master of these kingdoms. K'ieou-tsieou-kio died at the age of more than eighty. His son Yen-Kao-tchen (Oemo-Kadphises) succeeded him as king. In his turn he conquered India and established there a 'Chief' for governing it. From this time the Yue-chi became extremely powerful. All the other countries designate them Kushan after their king, but the Han retain the old name and call them Ta-Yue-che."

In the course of his description of India Fan-Ye adds the following :—

"**At this time** all these Indian kingdoms were subject to the Yue-chi. The Yue-chi had killed their king and installed a 'Chief' to administer the government."[4]

Now if we altogether banish from our mind all preconceived theories regarding the Kushan Chronology the meaning of the passages quoted above offers no difficulty. As Fan-Ye dates past events by referring them to distinct chronological periods (apparently the Chinese equivalent of our method of dating in the years of an era) it appears plainly, from the

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[1] *JRAS.*, 1913, pp. 627-650, 910-1042.

[2] These were propounded at first in a thesis submitted to the Calcutta University in October, 1912.

[3] My accounts of these books are based on the French translations that appeared in *T'oung Pao*, 1907, (p. 153 ff). and 1905, (p. 519 ff.)

[4] *T'oung Pao*, 1907, p. 193-4.

use of the phrase "at this time", that at the close of the period with which Fan-Ye is dealing (*i.e.* about A. D. 220) the different kingdoms of India were subject to the Yue-chi king, who had installed a 'Chief' to govern the country. Fan-Ye is quite explicit on this point as the last quotation will show. It will be observed that the separate accounts which Fan-Ye gives of the Yue-chi and the Kabul kingdom are quite consistent with this. The last thing he records of the Yue-chi is their conquest of India under Wema-Kadphises and the consequent increase in their power, and the last thing mentioned of Kabul is also the Yue-chi conquest of the country. There can hardly remain any doubt that the picture of the Yue-chi which he has preserved is true of the period with which his history closes.

This plain interpretation is, however, fatal to all the theories that have hitherto been entertained regarding the chronology of the Kushans. It has been therefore confidently asserted that the above accounts were all taken from Pan-Young, and it has been implied that the significant words "at this time" were taken verbatim from Pan Young's report, and that therefore the historical accounts of the Yue-chi and India were only true of the period when Pan Yong wrote, *viz.*, about A.D. 125.

This explanation, originally propounded by M. Chavannes, has been improved upon by Mr. Kennedy, and it is therefore necessary to consider in detail the basis upon which it is founded. M. Chavannes in the introduction to his 'Translation of the 118th chapter of Fan-Ye's work' refers to a passage, where the author says that he took '*all his facts*' from Pan Yong's report,[5] and argues that the whole account of the western countries, as given by Fan-Ye, was based upon that report. It is quite clear, however, that, either the French translation is faulty or there is something wrong in the copy, for '*all the facts*' that Fan-Ye describes could not possibly have been based upon Pan Yong's report, inasmuch as just before this statement, Fan-Ye mentions incidents which took place in A.D. 132, 134, 152 and 153 and were therefore posterior to Pan Yong's report. As a matter of fact, in regard to almost all the countries, of which he gives historical account, he narrates events which were posterior to the time of Pan Yong and could not therefore have been described in the latter's report. These facts, of course, did not escape the notice of the French savant, but he seeks to explain away their importance by the following observations:—

"It is true that as regards Khoten, Kashgar or Tourfan, Fan-Ye mentions some events which took place between A.D. 150-170. This does not, however, weaken the importance which must be attributed to the Text of Pan Yong in this chapter. In reality it is this text itself which constitutes the whole account of the western countries. Only, in regard to countries which were nearer to China, and with which she had continued her intercourse for a longer time, the historian adds some facts which were posterior to the report of Pan Yong."[6]

Against this view it must be observed in the first place that it is not only as regards Khoten, Kashgar or Tourfan that Fan-Ye mentions events which were posterior to Pan Yong, but also as regards India, Kiumi (pp. 170-171), Ta-tsin (Syria) and incidentally of Parthia (p. 185).[7]

The view cannot, therefore, be maintained that the only additions that the historian made to Pan Yong's report were with regard to countries nearer to China. As he gives additional accounts of India, Parthia and Syria he had certainly not to depend upon the

[5] *T'oung Pao*, 1907, p. 168. [6] *T'oung Pao*, 1907, p. 180.

[7] The pages refer to *T'oung Pao*, 1907.

report of Pan Yong alone in his account of the Yue-chi country and Kabul kingdom which lay in an intermediate position between China and those countries.

But all possible doubts on this point are removed, so far at least as India is concerned, by the express statement of Fan-Ye, that he had access to later authorities than Pan Yong's report. In the dissertations which end the chapter, Fan-Ye remarks that very meagre accounts of Buddhism are given in the geographical treatises on India of the Han period and then observes as follows :—

"Changkien merely writes 'the country is mostly warm and the inhabitants ride on the elephants when fighting.' As to Pan Yong, although he has stated that the people adore Buddha, and that they neither kill nor attack, still he does not convey any information regarding the perfect style and the excellent doctrine (of the Sacred Books), and the merit these possess of guiding the people and making them comprehend (the truth). **For me here is what I have heard spoken on the subject by others at a subsequent period.**" [8]

Fan-Ye thus positively asserts that he had utilised other sources of information regarding India, besides Pan Yong's report, and that these belonged to a period subsequent to it. No doubt it was from these sources that he learnt the events which he records to have happened subsequent to Pan Yong's time.

Besides it has been elsewhere clearly shown by Chavannes himself that Fan-Ye's work was based upon previous works, not less than ten in number and all posterior to Pan Yong's time.[9]

There is thus no reason to suppose that the events mentioned by Fan-Ye had all taken place before Pan Yong's report. As regards the phrase "at this time", on which Chavannes remarks "Apparently, at the time when Pan Yong wrote", the case is still more clear. As Fan-Ye drew upon sources of information, both anterior[10] and posterior to Pan Yong's time, there is no reason why that phrase should refer to it. Besides, Fan-Ye was not reproducing the report of Pan Yong, he was writing an independent account of India: and even if it were wholly based on that report, he could not borrow any such expression ; because any man possessed with a grain of common sense (and Fan-Ye has clearly proved that he had a fair share of it) could not have been blind to the fact that such expressions, if they were meant to refer to Pan Yong's time, would be entirely misleading in a work which professes to record the historical events down to A.D. 220. It would indeed be a most astounding thing if a writer, usually so precise about dates, would so far forget himself as to

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8 "Tchangkien s'est borné à ecrire" Ce pays est le plus souvent chaud et humide ; les habitants montent sur les elephants pour combattre.

"Quant à Pan Young quoiqu'il ait exposé que ces gens adorent le Buddha et qu'ils ne tuent ni n'attaquent, cependant il ne nous a rien transmis sur le style parfait et sur la doctrine excellente (des livres saints) sur le merite qùont ceux-ci de guider les hommes et de leur faire comprendre (la vérité).

"Pour moi voici ce que jai entendu dire à ceux qui, plus tard, on parlé de ce sujet." *T'oung Pao*, 1907, p. 218.

9 An old Chinese authority has furnished us with a list of historical treatises which were written before Fan-Ye's time and to which evidently Fan-Ye had access, for we are told that Fan-Ye "rassembla et compléta tous ces auteurs." The extract has been translated by Chavannes in *T'oung Pao*, 1906, pp. 211-214.

10 It is quite evident that Fan-Ye had access to Changkien's report. *See* the first sentence of the quotation in footnote 8. Chavannes remarks on observations attributed therein to Changkien : "These two sentences are found almost word for word in the 96th Chapter of Sumachien's history which is based on the report of Tchangkien." *T'oung Pao*, 1907, p. 218, F. N. 2.

reproduce an expression from Pan Yong's report which could not but mean an entirely different thing to the readers of his own work. Now such a strange phenomenon can be accepted as true only if adequate proofs are forthcoming ; but what are the proofs?

Fan-Ye, no doubt, says that the facts he describes had been related by Pan Yong in his report. But this applies to India as well as to all other countries of the West described by him, and as we have seen that all the facts he describes about them could not be taken from that report, inasmuch as many of them are posterior to it, we cannot suppose that his Indian account was brought down only to the period when Pan Yong wrote. Further Fan-Ye merely says that "all these facts were related by Pan Yong", but he nowhere says that he gives extracts from Pan Yong's report, so as to warn the reader that all personal references to time should be taken to apply to the period of Pan Yong alone.

When Fan-Ye describes events of Pan Yong's time, and in which Pan Yong himself played a part, he does not use the first person nor indicate the time by any such expressions as "at the present day," "at this time," "Now," "last year," or "so many years ago," &c., which must have been used in Pan Yong's report, but he indicates the time as a later author would naturally do, even when his facts are all taken from Pan Yong's report, by referring them to distinct chronological periods.

The position with regard to the question under discussion may therefore be described as follows :

Fan-Ye in the course of his description of India says, "At this time, all these kingdoms were subject to the Yue-chi."

It has been contended that the phrase 'at this time' apparently refers to the time of Pan Yong. The contention rests on two grounds :—

(1) Fan-Ye tells us that he borrowed his facts from Pan Yong's report.

(2) He expressly indicates (or actually tells us, as Mr. Kennedy would have us believe) that some of his sentences are borrowed from Pan Yong ('borrowed verbatim' according to Mr. Kennedy). (See *JRAS.*, 1912, p. 678, F. N. 2.)

Against this view it has been clearly demonstrated that

(1) Fan-Ye did not take all his facts from Pan Yong ; he did not even confine himself to the period when Pan Yong wrote, but noticed events which happened posterior to it.

(2) The phrase 'at this time' if quoted verbatim from Pan Yong's report would mean an entirely different thing in Fan-Ye's work, and it would be absurd to suppose that Fan-Ye could have remained ignorant of it. Fan-Ye has proved himself too critical to be capable of quoting in such an absurd way. Strong and definite proofs are therefore needed to induce us to believe that he actually did any such thing and such proofs are entirely wanting. There is no clear indication that any sentence was borrowed from Pan Yong in the sense that it was reproduced word for word.

The conclusion is therefore obvious that the phrase 'at this time' should be taken, in its normal sense, to refer to the closing years of the period with which Fan-Ye dealt, *i.e.*, sometime about A.D. 220. Any forced construction of it would be inadmissible as there are no circumstances warranting the same.

The results obtained by the plain and natural interpretation of Fan-Ye's history are fully corroborated by Yu Houan, the author of the Wei-lio. In describing the

three routes that lead from China to western countries, he mentions, in connection with the southern route, that it passes along the kingdoms of Kipin (Kashmir ?), Ta-hia (Bactria), Kao-fu (Kabul) and T'ien-tchou (India) all of which are subordinate to the Yue-chi.[11] There cannot be the slightest doubt that this state of things was true of the period with which Wei-lio concluded. This has been recognised by the French translator of the work, M. Ed. Chavannes, who remarks on the above passage: "So at the middle of the third century of our era, the power of the Kushan kings was at its height."[12]

It is evident that the conquests of the Yue-chi, as described by Fan-Ye, entirely agree with the above account. Both the works speak of Kao-fu, Kipin and T'ien-tchou being conquered by the Yue-chi. But this agreement is brought out more fully in connection with another kingdom, called Tong-li by Fan-Ye and Kiu-li, Li-wei-t'o or P'ei-li-wang by Yu-Houan.[13] That both the authors mean the same country is placed beyond all doubt by the almost identical descriptions which they give. Thus both place the country at a little more than 3000 li to the South-east of T'ienchu, and both name 'Cha-Ki' as the capital of the country. Indeed no doubt has been entertained on this point.[14] Now Fan-Ye says in regard to this country that "the Yue-chi attacked this kingdom and made themselves masters of it."[15] Yu Houan tells us about the people of the same country, "Now the Yue-chi have conquered them and imposed taxes upon them."[16]

The two works thus speak in the same strain about the Yue-chi and the facts they relate about them perfectly agree with each other. Now one of these works describes the events which took place about the year 239, and about this no doubt has hitherto been entertained. The other work also covers the period down to A.D. 220 and naturally enough the accounts in the two works perfectly agree. And yet we are asked to suppose that this latter work describes events which took place 100 years earlier. If proof were needed, that Fan-Ye really recorded events down to the year A.D. 220 as he professes to have done, the *Wei-lio* furnishes it, and even scepticism itself can no longer refuse to believe that the natural interpretation of Fan-Ye is the true one.

But even the *Wei-lio* has not been spared the hands of critics who are determined to make the Chinese texts fit in with preconceived theories of their own. According to Mr. Kennedy, the Yue-chi, referred to in the *Wei-lio*, mean the later Kushans.[17] But what are these later Kushans of whom so much has been made by him? The only definite evidence of their existence is furnished by a number of coins, mostly debased imitations of the early coins of Kanishka and Vâsudeva and mechanically repeating these illustrious names. Of the earlier class of these coins the greater number were found in the Punjab, and only a few gold coins have been discovered in stupas in the Kabul valley; while the coins of the later class

[11] "La route du sud, en allant vers l'ouest, passe par....................le royaume de Kipin (Cachemire), le royaume de Ta-hia (Bactriane) le royaume de Kao-fu (Kabul), le royaume de T'ienchou (Inde) qui tous dépendent des Ta-Yue-tche." *T'oung Pao*, 1905, pp. 535, 538-9.

[12] "Ainsi, au milieu du troisième siècle de notre ère, la puissance des rois Kouchâns était à son apagèe." *T'oung Pao*, 1905, p. 539, F. N. 1.

[13] For Fan-Ye's account, see *T'oung Pao*, 1917, pp. 194-195. For that in *Wei-lio*, see *T'oung Pao*, 1905, p. 551.

[14] Thus in a footnote to Fan-Ye's account of Tong-li, Ed. Chavannes remarks: "In the Wei-lio the kingdom is called Kiu-li, or Li Wei-to or pèi-li-Wang." *T'oung Pao*, . 194, F. N. 5.

[15] "Les Ta-Yue-tche attaquèrent ce royaume et se l'asservirent." (*Op. cit.*)

[16] "Maintenant des Yue-tche les ont asservis et leur ont imposé des taxes." (*Op. cit*

[17] *JRAS.*, 1913, pp. 1054-1064.

are confined to the Northern Punjab alone.[18] The style of these coins does not also favour the supposition that they were issued by a line of powerful rulers. The available evidences therefore seem to indicate that the so-called later Kushans were a line of weak rulers, who at first held sway over Kabul and the Punjab, but whose territory was afterwards confined to the Northern Punjab alone.

Now the empire of the Yue-chi, as described in *Wei-lio*, extended from Bactria to the East Indies, and according to Mr. Kennedy it even included the kingdom of Magadha. Does Mr. Kennedy seriously ask us to believe that this description is applicable to the later Kushans? There is not a particle of evidence to show that these held either Bactria[19] or any Indian territory to the east of the Punjab. If they really held sway over such a vast extent of territory, it is almost incredible that definite evidences should not be forthcoming to establish the fact, and that their coins should indicate such debasement, when compared with those of the great Kanishka line.

Mr. Kennedy has referred to some other evidences in support of his theory of a Later Kushan kingdom, but they do not deserve serious criticism.

The description of the Yue-chi as found in *Wei-lio*, is only applicable to the great line of Kushan Emperors in India, beginning from Wema Kadphises and ending with Vâsudeva. This, as we have seen above, is in entire agreement with the account of Fan-Ye, which when plainly interpreted refers to the Indian conquests of Wema-Kadphises shortly before A.D. 220. The joint testimony of these two writers cannot be lightly ignored and we are therefore bound to hold that the Yue-chi had established their supremacy in India in the beginning of the third century A.D., and that their power was at its height by the middle of it.

We next turn to the **Indian evidence.** It is held by almost all the scholars, with the exception of Dr. Fleet and the supporters of his theory, that the Northern Satraps and Gondophares preceded the Kushan Emperors, and that among the latter, the Kadphises group preceded Kanishka. I accept this view and refer the reader, for reasons, to the printed report of the debate held in the Hall of the Royal Asiatic Society. (*JRAS.*, 1913, pp. 627 ff., 911 ff.)

Now we have a series of epigraphic dates for these rulers which may be arranged as follows:—

Soḍâsa	72
Patika	78
Gondophares	103
Kushan Kings (without any proper name)	113, 122, 136[20]
Kanishka, Vâsishka, Huvishka and Vâsudeva	3-99

It is quite evident that the dates 3 to 99 cannot refer to the same era as the others. The inscriptions, which refer to Kushan rulers, without any name, should naturally be placed before those of Kanishka, for we know from the Chinese writers that the early Kushan

[18] *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1893, pp. 116, 121; also Rapson's *Indian Coins*, § 74, pp. 18, 19.

[19] The so-called Scytho-Sassanian coins are regarded by Drouin as the coins of Kushans themselves, while, according to Cunningham, they were issued by the Sassanians. In any case their date is limited to 300-450 A. D., and they do not therefore belong to the period contemplated in the *Wei-lio*. (Rapson's *Indian Coins*, § 75, p. 19).

[20] Kuldarra (*JRAS.*, 1903, p. 41), Panjtar (*ASR.*, p. 61, pl. xvi) and Taxila (*JRAS.*, 1914, p. 975 ff.) Inscriptions.

Emperors did not personally govern India, but a Viceroy ruled there in their name. We have a series of coins (the coins of the so-called Nameless kings) which are in some respects parallel to these inscriptions and have been referred, on independent grounds, to the period of Wema Kadphises.[21] These coins and inscriptions may therefore be referred to the period of interval between the first Kushan conquest of India and the assumption of the Indian Government by the Kushan Emperors themselves.

It is legitimate, on numismatic and palæographic grounds, to take all these dates ranging from 72 to 136 as belonging to one era.[22] Kanishka, according to this view, would have to be placed after the year 136 of that era, and a great advance may thus be made in the solution of the Kanishka problem, if we can fix the initial point of the era.

Dr. Fleet has emphasised the principle that we should, whenever practicable, avoid the assumption of an era, for the existence of which there is no actual evidence at all.[23] Dr. Oldenberg made a similar remark in connection with the Gupta era. "The fundamental mistake," said Dr. Oldenberg, "which has vitiated several of the most detailed disquisitions about the Gupta chronology, consists in their touching only incidentally upon the direct and very clear ancient tradition, which we possess regarding the Gupta era, instead of placing distinctly this tradition in the foreground and of systematically discussing the question whether any serious objection can be opposed to it. We shall try to proceed in this way so clearly prescribed by the nature of the question." [24]

These principles, applied to the question at hand, limit our choice in the first instance, to the two well-known eras which commenced in 58 B. C. and A.D. 78.

On general grounds, the era of A.D. 78 must be preferred to that of 58 B.C., in interpreting the dates of these foreign rulers. In the first place, tradition attributes the inauguration of the first to the accession of a Saka ruler, while it assigns an indigenous origin to the second. Secondly the Western Satraps, ho undoubtedly used the era of A. D., 78 indicate close connection with the north-western parts of India by the Kharoṣṭhi letters on their coins,[25] and all the rulers we have to deal with belong to that quarter.

Interpreted by the 'Saka Era', the dates of the various rulers will be as follows :—

Soḍâsa	A.D. 150
Patika	A.D. 156
Gondophares	A.D. 181
Kushan Kings (before Kanishka) ..	A.D. 191 to 214
Kanishka	Some time after A.D. 214

[21] *JRAS.*, 1913, p. 661.

[22] Sir John Marshall has disputed the validity of the generally accepted belief that the date of the Taxila copperplate of Patika and the year 72 of Soḍâsa refer to one and the same era. (*JRAS.*, 1914, pp. 985-86). His arguments, I am afraid, are not quite convincing to me. The inconsistency which he has pointed out may be removed either in the way suggested by Dr. Fleet (*JRAS.*, 1907, pp. 1034-35), or by supposing that the number of small inscriptions which cover the entire face of the Mathura Lion pillar capital were written at different times by different individuals. Both the styles of writing as well as the subject matter support this hypothesis (See M. Barth's remarks in *ante*, 1908, p. 245). It must also be remembered that the inscription of Satrap Soḍâsa need not necessarily be referred to a period earlier than that of Mahâkshatrapa Soḍâsa for though, as a general rule, the transition is from the state of Kshatrapa to that of a Mahâkshatrapa, the reverse case is not unknown: *cf*, *e.g.*, the case of Rudrasimha I. His coins show him to be a Mahâkshatrapa in the years 103, 106, 109 and 110 and a simple Kshatrapa in the years 110 and 112. Rapson's *Andhra Coins*, &c., pp. 87-91).

[23] *JRAS.*, 1905, p. 231. [24] *Ante*, Vol. X, p. 217. [25] Rapson's *Andhra Coins*, p. CIV.

The results may appear to be too startling for serious consideration; but, when calmly considered, they are found to be opposed to nothing but vague prejudices inherited from earlier writers, who had to form their conclusions on very insufficient grounds.

The Northern Satraps have usually been referred to very early times, but there are no positive data to determine their dates, and their chronological position has been fixed solely with reference to that of the Greeks and the Kushans. As the date of the Kushans is the matter of dispute, it would be begging the question to rely upon it, and the Greek chronology is far from being settled as yet. It must never be forgotten that numismatic and palæographic evidences can only supply relative dates and never an absolute one (unless of course the coins are dated in a known era, which however is not the case in the present instance). When specific dates are given to a king on numismatic and palæographic evidences, they are simply conjectured on the basis of the dates of other king, or of kings with relation to whom his chronological position has been established by means of coins and inscriptions. Everything therefore depends upon the latter, and the specific dates of the former, arrived at by numismatic and palæographic evidences, possess no more value than may be attached to it. We should therefore distinguish the numismatic and palæographic *facts* from the *theories* based upon them. The establishment of these facts requires a great deal of technical skill and observation, and they should not be slightly treated, when their accuracy is established by the joint testimony of a number of experts in these branches. The chronological theories established on the basis of these facts do not stand however on the same footing. They are based on some assumptions with regard to historical events, and must stand or fall with them. As regards the Northern Satraps, early dates were assigned to them on the basis of the assumed date for the extinction of the Greek rule in India. This was first taken to be 120 B. C. and next shifted to a period 100 years later, but even this did not rest on secure grounds. Already a still later date has been proposed and generally accepted, and more shifting will probably take place in future. While therefore we should accept in general the priority of the Greek sovereigns, we are unable to rely much upon any specific date assigned to the Northern Satraps. The proposed date for the Northern Satraps is not therefore *primâ facie* an impossible one.

There seems to be a consensus of opinion among the scholars as regards the date of Gondophares, but the unanimity is more apparent than real. By a curious coincidence they have come to maintain the same point, though their views are based on diametrically opposite principles. Thus Dr. Fleet arrives at the date by referring the year 103 of the Takht-i-Bahai inscription to the Vikrama Samvat of 58 B.C., which he considers to be the historic era of Northern India being founded by the great emperor Kanishka. Dr. Thomas, Mr. V. A. Smith and Mr. Rapson, who all deny any association between Kanishka and Vikrama Samvat, and do not even recognise the possibility of the Vikrama Samvat having ever been used in those regions at so early a period, arrive at the same conclusion on numismatic and palæographic evidences, which place Gondophares a little before Kanishka, whom they refer to about A.D. 78.

The position with regard to Gondophares is briefly this: A Christian tradition associates him with the apostle St. Thomas and thus refers him to the middle of the first century A.D. It is generally admitted, however, that the tradition by itself is unworthy of serious belief.

Thus Mr. V. A. Smith says: "The whole story is pure mythology, and the geography is as mythical as the tale itself ......After much consideration I am now of opinion that the story of the personal ministration and the martyrdom of St. Thomas in the realms of Gondophares and Mazdai should not be accepted." [26] Dr. Fleet also expresses a similar but a more moderate opinion as follows: "Now in the Christian tradition there are details which tend to prevent us from placing implicit reliance upon it. And as regards its external bearings, it would hardly suffice, standing alone, to allow us to introduce into the early history, as a proved fact, the existence, at some time between about A.D. 33 and 68 of two kings of India, or of parts thereof, whose names should be found in the Gudnaphar, Gundaphar, Goundaphoros or Gundaforus, and the Mazdai, Misdaios or Mesdeus of the tradition."[27] Mr. Burkitt who has made a special study of the subject is also of opinion that "That the stories in the Acts of St. Thomas have little or no historical basis is indeed almost self-evident."

The tradition about Gondophares therefore cannot be accepted as an historical fact, unless it is corroborrated by independent evidence. Reliable independent evidence however there is none, and scholars do not even agree as to the bearing of the numismatic and palæographic facts with regard to the question. Dr. Fleet and Mr. R. D. Banerji do not hesitate to place Kanishka before Gondophares, while Dr. Bühler, Dr. Thomas, Mr. V. A. Smith, Mr. Rapson and others would reverse the position. I am inclined to accept the latter view, and hold it as an established fact, on numismatic and palæographic grounds, that Kanishka flourished later than Gondophares. But the specific date proposed for Gondophares on this ground possesses little value, as the date of Kanishka itself is open to dispute and forms the subject-matter of the present discussion. There is thus no good ground for the assumption that Gondophares flourished in the middle of the first century A.D.

The above discussions make it quite clear that no serious objection can be opposed to the results obtained by referring the dates under consideration to the era of A. D. 78.

The Chinese evidence is thus corroborrated by the results deduced from Indian inscriptions regarding the date of Kushan sovereignty. We have seen that, by referring the Indian inscriptions to the well-known era beginning in A.D. 78, the date of the Indo-Parthian king Gondophares falls in A.D. 181 and that of the Kadphises kings between A.D. 191 and 214. The Chinese evidence also shows that Kozoulo-Kadphises defeated the Parthians and conquered Kabul, and that his son conquered India, shortly before A.D. 220. This perfect agreement between two such different sources of information shows that we are on the right track.

It follows from what has been said before that Kanishka must be placed after A.D. 214. The silence of Fan-Ye regarding Kanishka seems to carry this limit to about A.D. 220. We must therefore look for the initial point of the Kanishka era very near this date, for he cannot well be very far removed from Wema-Kadphises. As I have said before, we should, whenever practicable, avoid the assumption of a brand new era for the existence of which there is no actual evidence at all. Our choice must therefore fall upon a known era which commences close to A.D., 220 if there be any. Such an era is to be found in the so-called "Traikûṭaka, Kalachuri or Chedi era," the initial point of which falls in A.D. 248-249, and assuming our main arguments to be correct, there can be scarcely any hesitation in looking upon Kanishka as the inaugurator of the era.

[26] *Early History of India*, 3rd Edition, pp. 233-234.

[27] *JRAS.*, 1905, p. 227.

The origin of this era is shrouded in mystery. The earliest instance where its use can be definitely established is afforded by an inscription of the Traikûṭaka king Dahrasena dated in the year 207. From this time onwards the era was mostly prevalent in the Gurjara country and Konkan without any definite name, being simply referred to as 'Samvatsara'. In one instance it is referred to as "*Tr-(ai)kûṭakânâ(ṁ) pravarddhamâna-râjya-sa(ṁ)-vvatsara-śata-dvaye pañcha—chatvâri(ṁ)sad-uttare*," which seems to show that it was mostly in use in the Traikûṭaka kingdom. It is not until the year 893 of the era that a definite name, *viz.*, Kalachuri Samvatsara, was given to it. In all these there is nothing inconsistent with the assumption that the era was founded by Kanishka and made current in Gurjara and Konkan by dynasties of feudatory kings. An analogous instance is afforded by the Gupta era, which was prevalent in western parts of India long after it had ceased to be current in its home provinces, and even came to be known as the Valabhi Samvat.

A close study of the coins of the Western Satraps seems to show that the influence of the Kushan Emperors had made itself felt in this quarter. The following remarks of Rapson, who has made a special study of the subject, show the gradual process of decline in the power of the Western Satraps.

"Already in this reign (of Vijayasena) appear the first symptoms of a decline about the year 167 or 168 (A. D. 245-246); and from this time onwards until the end of the dynasty it is possible to observe in the coinage a process of continuous degradation, varied occasionally by short-lived attempts to restore a higher standard." (Rapson's *Andhra Coins*, p. 137).

"In any case there must have been a long interval in which there was no Mahâkṣatrapa The first part of this interval is taken up with the reigns of two Kshatrapas, Rudrasiṃha II, 227-23 (5-9) [A. D. 305-31 (3-7)] and Yaśodaman II, 239-254 [A.D. 317-332]; during the latter part, 254-270 (A.D. 332-348) the coins of this dynasty cease altogether."

"All the evidence afforded by coins or the absence of coins during this period, the failure of the direct line and the substitution of another family, the cessation first of the Mahâkṣatrapas and afterwards of both Mahâkṣatrapas and Kṣatrapas seems to indicate troublous times. The probability is that the dominions of the Western Kṣatrapas were subject to some foreign invasion; but the nature of this disturbing cause is at present altogether doubtful." (*Ibid*, p. 142.)

It will be observed that my theory about the Kushan chronology fully explains the process of continuous degradation noticed by Rapson. The first symptoms of decline appear shortly after the Kushans had established their supremacy in India. The dynasty is shorn of power during Huvishka's time, altogether ceases to exist as a ruling power during the rule of Vâsudeva, and revives some of its power and influence only after the death of this prince and the consequent downfall of the Kushan power. It is quite permissible to hold, therefore, that a rival dynasty was established in Gujarat to hold in check the power of the Western Kshatrapas, and this ultimately became instrumental in preserving the era of the Kushans long after it had become extinct in the province of its origin.

Another circumstance corroborrates the theory that Kanishka flourished about A.D. 249. We have a Mathura Inscription dated in the year 299 whose letters resemble those of the Sarnath Inscription of Kanishka, and which must therefore be placed, on palæographic grounds, close to the period of Kanishka. It is admitted by all that this date cannot be referred to the era used by Kanishka or the Northern Satraps. Those who place Kanishka in A.D. 78 are thus compelled to refer it to a second unknown era (the first unknown era being that to which they refer the dates of Soḍâsa and Gondophares).

According to my theory all difficulties are removed by referring it to the Vikrama Saṁvat which places it about ten years earlier than the Sarnath Inscription, and seven years earlier than the inauguration of the Kushan era. This latter fact probably explains the use of Vikrama Saṁvat in Mathurâ. The Śaka power had been extinguished and the new dynasty of the Kushans had not yet established an era. Under such circumstances one who is conversant with Vikrama Saṁvat may use that era in Mathurâ. This seems to me to be the most satisfactory solution of the difficulty, for it must be remembered that the era was current for about 300 years and can hardly be explained by the theory of a local origin without any definite proof.

The position may thus be summed up as follows: The natural interpretation of the Indian and Chinese evidences place Kanishka after A.D. 220, and as there is a well-known Indian era running from A.D. 248-9 we can hardly be mistaken in looking upon Kanishka as its inaugurator. This proposition is fully supported by the history of the Western Satraps and the inscription of Mathurâ dated in the year 299.

I shall now proceed to show that the theory I have put forward is in perfect agreement with the known facts of palæography and numismatics.

Palæography : According to my theory the Kushan period is brought quite close to that period of the Guptas, of which we possess epigraphical record. This is fully in agreement with palæographic facts. Dr. Bühler, after an exhaustive analysis of the peculiarities of the Kushan inscriptions, makes the following remarks :—

" All these peculiarities, as well as the advanced forms of the medial vowels, of *â* in *râ*, of *u* in *ku* and in *stu*, and of *o* in *to*, reappear constantly in the northern alphabets of the next period, those of the Gupta inscriptions and of the Bower MS., or are precursors of the forms of those documents. The literary alphabets used in Mathurâ during the first two centuries A.D. very likely were identical with or closely similar to the later ones, and the admixture of older forms, observable in the inscriptions of the Kushan period may be due purely to an imitation of older votive inscriptions."

Thus Dr. Bühler fully noticed the remarkable similarity of the letters of the Kushan and Gupta periods. But as he was not prepared for its logical consequence he had to maintain the identity of alphabets separated by more than two centuries. The theory, I have advanced, shows that the alphabets of the two periods were similar for the very natural reason that one of them closely followed upon the other.

Numismatics: My theory offers a more satisfactory explanation of the close connection between the coins of the Kushans and the Guptas than any that has yet been proposed. Dr. Oldenberg, while placing Kanishka in A.D. 78 made the very apposite remark that, " It is one of the earliest known and best established facts within the sphere of Indian numismatics that this [Kushan Coinage] is the place from which the very important coinage of the Gupta dynasty branches off."[28] He further added, " that the vacant period between Vâsudeva and the Guptas is already [by placing Kanishka in A.D. 78] perhaps greater than might be expected."[29]

Mr. V. A. Smith practically agrees to this, when he says : " The close relationship in weights, types, and palæography between the coins of the Imperial Gupta Dynasty (A.D. 320-480) and those of the Kushan kings, Kanishka, Huvishka, and Vâsudeva, is obvious and has always been recognised.[30]

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[28] *Ante*, Vol. X, p. 217. [29] *Ibid*, p. 216. [30] *JRAS*. 1903, p. 35.

THE HISTORY OF THE NAIK KINGDOM OF MADURA.

BY V. RANGACHARI, M.A., L.T., MADRAS.

(*Continued from p.* 247.)

Such was the position in the year 1752. The nominal king of the country, the exiled Nâik, was a refuge in the Râmnâd estate. His kingdom was an object of contest between the powers of South India. It would be exceedingly interesting to ascertain the nature of the feelings which each of the contending parties felt towards the ex-king. One thing is certain, however: he was not such a forgotten figure in the politics of the day as we have to infer from the great English historian of the period. The descendant of Tirumala Nâik did not indeed actually exercise power. But his name had a charm to the Hindu population and was received with applause and with loyalty by many of the Polygars. Vijaya Kumâra could not therefore be ignored by the parties of the war. Intrigues and counter-intrigues must have passed between him and them, but the details of these we unfortunately do not possess. With regard to the Policy of Chanda Sahib, or at least his lieutenant Alam Khan, however, we have got ample material to pronounce a judgment. Chanda Sahib had behaved, as has been already mentioned, like a determined opponent of Vijaya Kumâra. It was his want of sympathy, in fact, that made Baṅgaru Tirumala apply to the Mahrattas for help in 1741. But it seems that, after his conquest of the Carnatic, Chanda Sahib apparently changed his attitude towards the ex-king of Madura. He seems to have no longer regarded him as an adversary to be removed at any cost from the field. Either a wise policy of conciliation or a hypocritical pretence, for the time, of friendship, induced him to negotiate with Vijaya Kumâra and recognize his birthright as the king of the cis-Kaveri region. Perhaps he feared that Muhammad Ali might befriend him and thereby strengthen his cause. Perhaps he thought that he would strengthen his own cause by respecting the loyal sentiments of the Hindus and recognizing their titular monarch. Whatever the reason was, his lieutenant Alam Khan tried his best for the restoration of Vijaya Kumâra to Madura. He himself could not do it in person, for the state of affairs at Trichinopoly called his immediate presence, there to stand by his master. When departing to the scene of war, however, he ordered his own son-in-law and representative,[6] Muda Miyan, whom he appointed the Viceroy of Madura and Tinnevelly, to immediately restore the Carnatic prince to his birthright. "From the time of our ancestors," he said, "we have been the servants of the Trichinopoly Raj. The same is the case with me now. The Karnâṭaka Monarch is now in the Marava country. Call him thence, crown him, and seek from him a *jâgîr* for your service."

The Nâik restoration.

With this order, Alam Khan proceeded to Trichinopoly to join his master. There unfortunately, he fell a victim to a skirmish against Lawrence and Clive. His orders were, if we are to trust the chronicle, scrupulously carried out by Muda Miyan. Proceeding

[6] Orme does not mention all this. He simply says that Alam Khan in 1752 left Madura under the management of three Pathan officers, Muhammad Barki (Myana), Muhammad Mainach (Muda Miyân), and Nabi Khan (Katak), while proceeding to Trichinopoly.

to Râmnâd, he had an interview with the Sêtupati's *padhâni*, (*velian, śêrvaikâran*), a man of absolute loyalty and honest bravery, and expressed the purpose of his visit. The Marava Minister was transported with joy at the turn of his master's fortune. He immediately took Muda Miyan to Śrîraṅgam where, Dorasâmi Tâṇḍavarâya Piḷḷai heartily joined them. All the three officers then went to Veḷḷai Kuruchchi, and congratulating Vijaya Kumâra on his change of fortune, escorted him in pomp to his capital. Then in accordance with the custom of his ancestors, he received, from the hands of Goddess Mînâkshi, the sceptre, and the symbols of sovereignty in Âṅgirasa Mârgaḷi. Mounted on an elephant, seated on a howdah, he was taken in procession around the city; and to the great joy of the people, crowned with pomp. Almost all the Polygars graced the occasion with their presence, and hastened to perform homage. They prostrated themselves before him as if before a divinity, and showered on him gold and silver flowers.

Muhammad Ali's final overthrow of it.

Vijaya Kumâra enjoyed his kingdom only for the space[7] of two years according to one account and six months to another. Even during this short period he seems to have been merely a nominal king. The Muhammadan officers of Chanda Sahib, Myana, Muda Miyan and Nabi Khan, either remained in the Madura fort or *jâgirs* near, and made no hesitation in ignoring the power of the restored monarch and treating him as their tool. But so long as Chanda Sahib was alive, they at least nominally obeyed the Nâik king. But late in 1752 Chanda Sahib was captured and killed, and the Carnatic became the undisputed possession of Muhammad Ali. A man of a mean and unscrupulous temperament, Muhammad Ali at once took steps to remove Vijaya Kumâra. With a bribe of a lakh of rupees, he pursuaded a Muhammadan saint, Asafu'ddin Sahib by name, to proceed to Madura and give Muhammad Miyan, the son-in-law of Myana, a written document in which he mentioned that he would offer a jagir of the value of a lakh of rupees and a cash of Rs. 50,000 in case he treacherously seized the person of the king. Myana was consulted in the matter by his son-in-law, and was mean enough to readily yield to it. The project, however, was looked upon with disfavour by Hussain Khan, a brother of Myana. He expressed in a bitter invective his contempt and abhorrence for the author of such a crime, rebuked his brother for his treachery towards a master whose salt he and his ancestors had eaten, and pointed out how his treason, which deserved death, was detestable in the eyes of both God and man, while it would bring eternal shame on the whole family of which he was the head. But the obstinacy of Myana, seconded by the passions and interests of his colleagues, Muda Miyan and Nabi, ignored the advice of his brother. Hussain saw that it was hopeless to reform his brother or to prevent the conspiracy. He therefore secured an audience with the king and, after making known to him the evil machinations of the Nawab's emissaries and the treachery of his own servants, pursuaded him, for the sake of his life, to leave Madura, for the present, to a more secure locality. The fears of Vijaya Kumâra were alarmed by the view of the least danger. A coward of a despicable character, he held life more precious than honour and yielded a ready consent to the proposal of his Musalman friend. The village of Veḷḷai Kuruchchi in the Sivagaṅga Zamindary became, thanks to the constancy of the Sêtupatis, once again the place of exile. It was soon however exchanged, in accordance with the advice of the same chief, to a place, more remote from

[7] The 1st is *Carn. Lords* and the 2nd the last *Mist. MS.* The latter distinctly says that he was restored in Âṅgirasa Mârgaḷi and that he ruled in the Karnâṭaka fashion down to Śrîmukha.

Madura, and therefore more secure, from the Nawab's designs. The generous loyalty[8] of the Sêtupati built for him a palace at Dharbha-Sayanam, the place of his new exile, endowed the village of Vîrasôren in his name, and furnished him with the expenses of his household and his maintenance.

Muhammad Ali was now the master of Madura and Tinnevelly. His first work after the assumption of Government was to endeavour to complete the ruin of his rival. Umad Aleam Khan, the son of the Nawab, was despatched to reduce the Râmnâd and Sivaganga *pâḷayams* and to bring the king as a captive.

The Karta in exile.

Umad was soon near Râmnâd, and when he was about to take it, he sent men to search the surrounding country and discover the whereabouts of Vijaya Kumâra. The agents of the latter at Râmnâd acquainted him with the fact, and he instantly resolved to leave the place. Horses and camels, elephants and palanquins for the ladies, were at once set in motion, and that very night Vijaya Kumâra went westward to the Pâḷayam of Tirumalai Gaṇdama Nâik. The latter with a rare and commendable loyalty, met the fallen and flying king at the boundary of his estate, and prostrating himself at his feet, performed homage and presented gold and silver flowers. He declared that his estate, as well as his life and services, were at his disposal. He built for him a residence, and left for his sole maintenance the village of Têgâmbaṭṭi.[9] Besides, he supplied him with all the expenses of his household, and himself paid homage twice every day, waiting in respectful attendance for more than an hour. This intercourse of respectful duty he steadily continued.

Glimpses of the Naik family in later times.

With the final fall of the Vijaya Kumâra, now a helpless exile, the history of the Nâiks of Madura closes. They did not entirely die from the current politics of the age; for as we shall see presently, the Polygars looked[10] to the Royal exile as their right chief and even, as late as 1757, tried, by concluding an alliance with Mysore, to bring about his return. No doubt, by this alliance it was resolved to restore the fallen monarch. Mahfûz Khan (who was then a rebel against Muhammad Ali's authority) was to be given a suitable establishment in Mysore, and Mysore was to have the Dindigul province. The alliance, however, was shattered by the military genius of Yusuf Khan. In 1777 Mînâkshi Nâik, an agent of Vijaya Kumâra, waited on Lord Pigot in Madras and obtained his sympathy and promise to consider the past history of his master and his claims.

But before he could do anything he was himself, as every student of Madras history knows, a victim of party squabbles and a prey of his adversaries. Vijaya Kumâra therefore continued to live in Gaṇdama Nâikanûr till his death on Mârgaḷi 23, Hêviṭambl (1777)—more than forty years after the death of the unfortunate Mînâkshi. His son Râja Viśvanâtha Nâik succeeded to his claims and was even formally anointed and waited upon by the Polygars of Gaṇdama Nâikanûr, Bôdi-Nâikanûr, Irchaka Nâikanûr, Eḷumalai, etc., and was paid formal homage, presents and offerings. Next year these faithful chiefs celebrated the marriage of their phantom chief. He remained there for six years and subsequently settled with his people once again at Veḷḷai Kuruchchi. The rule of the East India Company was now firmly established, and the son of Viśvanâtha Nâik, Vijaya Kumâra, Viśvanâtha Bangaru Tirumala, whose poverty was acute in consequence of the resumption of the two villages granted of old by Râmnâd and Bôdi-Nâikanûr, endeavoured, as late as 1820, to obtain pecuniary assistance from Government. He and

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[8] *Hist. Carna. Govrs.*

[9] *Caldwell's Tinnevelly.*

[10] A *Mist. MS.* (May, 1820) says that Seṭṭikkuruchchi in the Bodhinâyakhan Zamindari was also given him, See *O. H. MSS.*, II, 260.

his family lived at Veḷḷai Kuruchchi and their children were there until quite recently.[11] "It is said that they still kept up the old form of having recited, on the first day of Chittrai in each year, a long account of their pedigree and the boundaries of the great kingdom of which their forebears were rulers." (*Madura Gazr.*, p. 60). These titles alone, recognized by a few obscure men, remained their possession out of the large Empire their ancestors once ruled.

(*Concluded.*)

MISCELLANEA.

BANDHU-BHṚITYA OF THE MUDRA RÂKSHASA.

THE explanation[1] given by the *Ṭikâkâra*, of the phrase श्रीमद्बन्धुभृत्यः in the *bharata-vâkya* to the Mudrâ-Râkshasa (स श्रीमद्बन्धुभृत्यश्चिरमवतु. महीं पार्थिवश्चन्द्रगुप्तः) is not satisfactory. The honorific *Śrimat* excludes the meaning offered by Dhuṇḍhirâja. *Bhṛityâḥ* would be hardly called *Śrîmantaḥ*. I would take it as "He whose *bhṛitya* (servant) is Śrimân Bandhu."

Who was this Bandhu, who was important enough to be mentioned in the *bharata-vâkya* to denote the greatness of Chandragupta II ?[2] In the next reign we find Bandhuvarman, son of Viśvavarman of Mâlawâ, as a governor (or vassal) of the Gupta emperor at Mandasor (Daśapura).[3] But in the time of Chandragupta, Bandhuvarman's father must have been ruling over Mâlawâ, as he was ruling even after him in 423 A.D. (Gaṅgadhâr inscription of 480 M. E.).[4] It appears that neither Viśva-varman nor his ancestors at Pokarana acknowledged the suzerainty of the Guptas.[5]

It seems that Bandhuvarman, son of the sturdy Viśva-varman had come away to the court of Chandragupta II, most probably against the wishes of his father. The event would have caused some sensation at Pâtali-putra, for the Pokarana sovereigns claimed to be great monarchs, Chandra having conquered up to Baktria only a generation before. Bandhu's acceptance of service or offer of allegiance would have promised the certainty of the allegiance of the great monarchy of the Varmans to the Imperial Throne in the near future. The event would have very well appeared to Viśâkhadatta worthy of being associated with the name of his Emperor to indicate his great prestige.

K. P. JAYASWAL.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

NOTES FROM OLD FACTORY RECORDS.

8. Punishments for Piracy—hanging, whipping, branding.

28 *April* 1689. *Letter from Elihu Yale and Council at Fort St. George to the Honble. Rhede, Commissary General for the Rt. Honble. Netherlands East India Company.* The 9 English prisners your Honr. was pleased to send us from Pollicat were lately tryed by a Court Martiall, one of whome being pardon'd accused the rest confessing their soveral robberyes and Pyracyes; when upon examination, some being found more culpable then others, the Court Condemned the most notorious Criminall to be hanged aboard ship at the yard arme, another to be whipt at the severall Europe shipps in the road, and aftere to be branded with a hott Iron in the forehed, and the remaining 6 to be likewise stigmatized in their foreheds with a P, which centances were accordingly executed, and all bansht the Countery. God grant their sad examples may terrefye others from the like horred crimes. This I thought necessary to acquaint your honr. with, since some of their wicked crew remain stil in your Custodye. *Records of Fort St. George. Letters from Fort St. George*, 1689 pp. 21-22.

R. C. T.

[11] Buchanan, while on his way from Dodora Balapura to Sira, met at a particular place a renter of some villages "named Trimula Nayaka, from whom I received the intelligence which I consider as the most accurate that I procured during my whole journey." He says that he was a descendant of the Madura Râjas and that his ancestor was "a brother of the then reigning prince who, in a dispute, was savage enough to threaten the life of so near a relation." See Vol. I, p. 252.

[1] श्रीमद्बन्धुभृत्यः | श्रीमन्तः भृत्याश्च यस्य सः | Dhuṇḍhirâja, Telang's *Mudrâ-Râkshasa*, p. 318.

[2] *Ante*, 1913, p. 265.

[3] Fleet, *Gupta Inscrs.*, p. 82.

[4] *Ibid.*, 74.

[5] Haraprasad Shastri, *Ante*, 1913.

BOOK NOTICE.

VIJÑAPTI-TRIVEṆÎ, A JAINA EPISTLE.

THE Jain community of the Hindu people is showing laudable activity in bringing to light pieces of their hidden literature, which are as valuable as any other ancient literature of the country. The *Jaina—Âtmânanda—Sabhâ* of Bhavnagar has undertaken to publish an historical series (*Itihâsa-mâlâ*) and the *Vijñapti-triveṇî* is its first number. The work is edited in Hindi, which the Jain community has adopted as its common language. The text, however, is given in the original Sanskrit. The introduction in Hindî covers 96 pages containing valuable information, and the text covers 70 pages of octavo print.

The *Vijñapti-triveṇi* is a Sanskrit epistle dated Mâgha Sudi 8, 1484 V. S. and the text is edited from the original MS. of the author. That manuscript is at present in the Jain library of Vaḍipura-Parśvanâtha at Pâṭan in North Gujarat. It has been brought to light and edited with care by Muni Jina-Vijayajî, pupil of Mahârâja Pravartaka Muni Śrî-Kânti-Vijayajî.

This epistle is one of the many literary epistles called *Vijñaptis* written by mediæval Jains to their spiritual leaders on the last day of the Paryushaṇâ week. On that day the Jains are supposed to forgive others and ask for others' forgiveness. The week falls in Bhâdra (Vadi 12th to Sudi 4th) or in Śrâvaṇa according to local reckonings. After the week the Jains write letters between themselves and also to their *Âchâryas* asking for forgiveness. Some of the letters written on the occasion in the Middle Ages used to be profusely illustrated with pictures of well-known buildings, *e. g.*, palaces, temples, mosques and various scenes, from still-life to acrobatics. One such letter covers a roll of nearly 60 feet! Generally letters written by 'Munis' to their *Âchâryas* are so many attempts at artificial Sanskrit poetry. The *Indu-dûta* and *Cheto-dûta* are such epistles written in imitation of the *Meghadûta*. Our present epistle, however, is more sedate and contains more valuable materials.

The author Jayasâgara-Upâdhyâya addressed this epistle from Malik-vahana in Sindh to Śrî-Jinabhadra Sûri, Âchârya of the Kharatara Gachchha at Aṇahilapurapâṭana in Gujarât. It describes a journey to Kângrâ. The description is divided into three sections. The journey was undertaken by a number of merchants at the invitation of Jayasâgara, and the *saṅgha* on its way was protected by armed retainers. The object of the journey was the worship of a Jain deity in the hill fortress of Kaṅgadaka (modern Kângrâ), situated by the capital called Nagara-koṭṭa, which in those days was held by an independent Hindu King, Narendrachandra of the Somavaṃśa. The names of the capital and fortress are now combined in our present-day Koṭa Kâṅgḍâ. The old fortress has been unfortunately destroyed within living memory, by the dreadful earthquake of 1905.

The time of Jinabhadra is fully ascertained. He is well-known for having built many Jain temples and for having established a number of Jain libraries in Western India, one of which survives in the present library of Vâdipura-Parsvanâtha at Pâṭaṇa, where the MS. of the *Vijñapti-triveṇî* has been discovered. The present number of the volumes in the Pâṭaṇ library is about 750. They are written on paper-leaves of generally one size and also generally in letters of one and the same type. This was done in the age when the Jain Âchâryas had old manuscripts on palm-leaves transferred to paper. Jinabhadra took a leading part in that movement. From the existing manuscripts of the Pâṭaṇ Library it appears that Jinabhadra carried on this mission of manuscript-making from 1475 V. S. to 1515 V. S.

The epistle is useful for tracing the route from Western India to the Punjab in the 15th century; and the place-names on that route may be consulted for the purposes of comparison and identification. The document, like the majority of the Jain records of the Middle Ages, is reliable for dates and other material data. A great contribution of the epistle to the history of Kâṅgrâ is that it settles the date of King Narendrachandra whose coins we possess. No date with certaintry could yet be given to him; Mr. V. Smith tentatively placed him about 1465—80 A.C. (*Coins in the Indian Museum*, p. 278). Now we know on contemporary evidence of the epistle that he was reigning in 1427 A. C. and also the fact that he was a Jain. This definite date brings order at least on one point into the chaos of the Kâṅgrâ chronology. There are some further informations of historical value. The kingdom of Kashmir extended upto Hariyâṇâ in those days. which also marked off the boundaries of Jâlandhara, Madhya-deśa and Jâṅgala-deśa (Kuru-Jâṅgala). Apparently to the east of Hariyâṇâ (modern Hariyânâ) lay the Madhya-deśa. Near Hariyânâ on the Bias the pilgrims witnessed an engagement between the troops of "Sakander, King of Turushkas" and those of "Yaśoratha, lord of Shoshara." It seems that the Epistle's *sapâda-laksha* is our '*Sewalik*'. We are highly indebted to Muni Vijayaji for bringing this unique kind of composition to the notice of scholars and for writing a valuable preface to it.

AUSTRIA'S COMMERCIAL VENTURE IN INDIA IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

BY SIR R. C. TEMPLE, BT.

Introductory Remarks.

TWO and a half years ago my attention was drawn to a MS. account of a survey of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands in 1787 by Captain Alexander Kyd.[1] In his description of Car Nicobar, Kyd refers as follows to a settlement made under the auspices of Austria in 1778 :—

"The Imperial Company, by the advice of Mr. Bolts, established a factory upon one of these Islands a few years ago, but no support was given to the first settlers, who being ill-supplied with every necessary for a hot climate and miserably lodged, mostly all perished, probably more from the above causes than from the badness of the climate."

In my endeavour to obtain further details of this settlement, I made a search among the India Office Records and found a number of documents dealing with Austria's attempt to seize a share of the trade with India. These I have extracted from the many ponderous tomes in which they are buried, and by the courtesy of the authorities of the India Office, I now reproduce them verbatim, only altering the punctuation where necessary for the sense.

As I understand that a detailed work on William (or Willem) Bolts and his career under the East India Company, as well as during his employment by Austria, is in preparation, I have not attempted to present an exhaustive history either of the man or his schemes. I have merely made a collection of papers relative to the Austrian venture, arranging them in groups with suitable headings, and adding brief notes to elucidate the text.

The papers so collected fall under the following divisions :—

I. Measures taken in the Presidency of Bombay to nullify the Austrian enterprise.

II. Measures taken by the Council at Fort William to obstruct the endeavours of Bolts to trade in Bengal.

III. Obstructive measures at Madras directed against individuals interested in the Austrian venture.

IV. Details and prospectus of the Triestine Society promoted by Bolts in 1783.

A few words regarding the man entrusted with the carrying out of Austria's plans for trade in the East are necessary to complete the story.

Willem Bolts, a Dutchman, was born in Holland *c.* 1735. He went to England when fifteen years old, and thence to Lisbon, where he witnessed the great earthquake of 1755. Shortly afterwards he proceeded to India and arrived in Bengal subsequent to the tragedy of the Black Hole in June, 1756. Owing to the want of clerks, he was taken into the Company's service at Calcutta, became factor in 1762, and junior merchant and second in Council at Benares in 1765. In that year he was recalled to Calcutta and was charged with using the authority of the Company to further his own interests. In 1766 he resigned the Company's service and accepted a post as Alderman at Calcutta. From that time,

[1] The account is to be found in *Factory Records, Straits Settlements*, Vol. II. Consultation at Fort William, 14 September, 1787 (India Office Records). I had it copied and annotated it for printing in this Journal. The article, however, went down in the ill-fated *Persia* in December, 1915.

until 1768, when he was deported to England, he was repeatedly quarrelling with the Bengal Council on account of his private trade, by which he had accumulated a large fortune.

On his return to England, Bolts issued a pamphlet[2] recording the "oppressions" he had "suffered in Bengal." He then appealed to the Court of Directors, who, instead of espousing his cause, instituted a law-suit against him. The legal costs of the suit and the publication (in 1772-1775) of a work, in which he attacked the administration of the Company, nearly ruined him. The book (in 3 4to vols.) was entitled *Considerations on Indian Affairs, particularly respecting the present state of Bengal and its Dependencies. By William Bolts, merchant and alderman or Judge of the Hon. the Mayor's Court of Calcutta.*

The antagonism that Bolts had roused among the authorities in Bengal found vent in their letters after his departure. In January 1770 the Council at Fort William wrote that they imagined the sending home of Mr. Bolts would meet with the Directors' approbation "by reason of the just idea you entertain" of his "dangerous and intriguing spirit." They also enlarged on the extent of his illicit trade and the "little regard" he "pays either to the Commands of his Superiors or to publick faith."[3] The Directors also received voluminous appeals from the attorneys appointed by Bolts, complaining of the obstacles they met with in collecting his debts.

Finding himself worsted in his struggle with the Court of Directors, Bolts proceeded to utilize his knowledge of Indian affairs for the benefit of another European power. He approached Count Belgiogoso, the Ambassador in London of Maria Theresa, Empress of Austria, with proposals for inaugurating a direct trade between the Austrian Empire and Persia, the East Indies, China and Africa. The proposals were favourably received, and in 1775 Bolts was summoned to Vienna to unfold his plans. There he was made an Austrian subject, was invested by the Empress with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, and was granted a charter, dated 5th June 1775, for the foundation of a commercial company. In the course of his proceedings, Bolts formed establishments on the S. W. Coast of Africa (Delagoa Bay), on the Malabar and Coromandel Coasts, and in the Nicobar Islands.

These, however, were only of temporary duration, since the Company became bankrupt in 1781. Bolts returned to Europe and immediately proceeded to set on foot another trading scheme for Austrian enterprise in India under the name of the Triestine Society. One ship sailed at the end of 1783, but the undertaking was launched at an inopportune time and in 1785 the Company declared itself insolvent. Bolts afterwards proceeded to Paris and eventually died there in great poverty in 1808.

There are notices of this 18th century company promoter in the *Biographie Universelle* and in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, and allusions to his Indian venture in the *New Imperial Gazetteer of India* (II. 466 and XIX. 64). The fullest account, however, that has yet been written in English of this remarkable personage is to be found in a paper entitled *Extract from the Voyage of the Austrian Frigate "Novara": The Nicobar Islands in the Bay of Bengal*, which is printed in *Selections from the Records of the Government of India, Home Department*, No. LXXVII (Calcutta, 1870, pp. 193-207).

[2] *Oppressions suffered in Bengal by Mr. William Bolts, &c., from the East India Company's representatives. London*, 1769.

[3] *Bengal Letters Received*, IX. 180-181.

In his *History of the Mahrattas* (II. 345), Grant Duff pays the following tribute to the ability of the emissary of Austria :—

"Mr Bolts, originally in the Company's service in Bengal, who was in Poona at the same time [1777] as an avowed agent of the house of Austria, received no such civilities [as those accorded to the adventurer, St. Lubin, French ambassador]. Nana Furnuwees [Nânâ Farnawîs] probably perceived that St. Lubin was a fitter tool : and Mr Bolts, who was early dismissed, might have viewed that circumstance as complimentary to his character."

The Company's instructions to their three Presidencies of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, to obstruct the Austrian enterprise.

Letter, dated London, 24 *December*, 1776.[1]

We are informed from unquestionable authority that an enterprize of trade is in agitation by Mr William Bolts (formerly in our Service in Bengal) under Imperial Colours, and the protection of the Queen of Hungary, in a large ship, late the *Earl of Lincoln*, now named the *Joseph and Theresa*, which towards the end of June last imported at Leghorn from Lisbon, where besides considerable quantities of goods before shipped, ordnance, ammunition and all kinds of military stores to a great amount were received on board, with a very valuable proportion of merchandize, consisting principally of copper, iron and steel brought thither by two Danish and Dutch ship[s] from Trieste, and as the *Florentine Gazette*, published by authority, avows "belonging to a Company erected in Germany to carry on commerce between Trieste and the Coast of Coromandel, where the House of Austria means to establish a new Factory." We are also given to understand that a number of Austrian soldiers, Lutherans, were to be embarked at Leghorn on board the said ship, which left that port the 25th of September last with her consort, an English brigantine, laden with provisions for the voyage, and that both were from the Canary Islands to continue their course to the Coast of Choromandel.

It remains for us by the present opportunity in the strongest manner to recommend to your serious and speedy consideration either separately or conjunctively with our other presidencies, to pursue the most effectual means that can be fully justified to counteract and defeat the same, observing at the same time that this commerce is not contrary to any Treaty at present subsisting.

It will be particularly necessary to counteract this scheme in the beginning, because if the adventurers meet with but indifferent success in this first essay, it may discourage them from future attempts

If their design to settle shall prove to be in the neighbourhood of your presidency, we particularly rely on your weight and efforts with the Country [Native] Powers to render their scheme abortive.

We further especially recommend the stopping all commercial and other intercourse of our covenant servants and all under our protection with the persons who conduct this expedition or are concerned therein, and to prevent the latter from being furnished by any persons subject to your authority with money, goods, stores, or any other assistance conducive to the execution of their plan, and in case of the breach of any orders issued in this behalf, it is left with you to show a resentment adequate to the nature of the offence.

[1] *Bengal Despatches*, VIII. 271-274. The same instructions were sent to Madras and Bombay early in 1777.

As there are sufficient reasons to conclude several British subjects are employed in the expedition, who are, by the laws of this kingdom now in force, liable to be arrested and brought to Great Britain if found in the East Indies without our licence, we direct that you put such laws into force.

You will receive from us or our agents, by every opportunity in the course of the season, what further intelligence shall offer on this object, that such measures may be taken as shall appear expedient in consequence thereof.

Note on the Company's Instructions.

The allusions to the *Florentine Gazette* in the foregoing letter are important for the history of the proceedings of William Bolts, as indicating the *bona fides* of his claim to be a Lieutenant-Colonel in the Austrian forces and to his having gone to the East as the representative of the Austrian Empire. The *Gazetta di Firenze* was established in 1768, and was continued as the *Notizie del Mondo* (1768-1774) and as the *Gazetta Universale* from 1775 to 1811, when it reverted to its original title. There are several references in it in 1776 to Bolts and his ship. Some of these evidently reached the Court of Directors of the East India Company in London and caused them to take the action mentioned in their letter of instructions to their subordinates in India. I give the extracts from the Italian newspaper here translated in full. They consist of a series of items of news from correspondents.

Gazetta Universale, 29 *June*, 1776 (p. 413).

Italy, Leghorn (Livorno) 26 June: On Tuesday evening there anchored in the road the *Joseph and Theresa* (*Giuseppe e Teresa*) from London, Lisbon and Cadiz, under the [Austrian] Imperial flag, commanded by Captain William Bolts. The said ship is of 900 tons, is armed with 32 guns and has a crew of 60 men. It is to sail to the Coast of Coromandel for the purpose of securing to His Majesty the Emperor the re-entry into possession of those factories which the House of Austria had there as far back as the time of the Emperor Charles VI. of glorious memory. It will depart under the escort of the Royal Tuscan Frigate of War, *Etruria*, which is now ready to sail.

13 *July*, 1776 (p. 444).

Leghorn, 9 July: On Wednesday of last week, at the palace of His Excellency the Commandant-General and Governor of this city, at the invitation of the high officials of State and in the name of His Majesty the Emperor Joseph, Mr. William Bolts, now Captain of the Austrian ship *Joseph and Theresa*, destined for Coromandel, was declared a Lieutenant-Colonel before the Austrian soldiers, who were present and are to serve in the said ship. Afterwards the oath of fidelity was administered to them by the aforementioned officials in the usual military form. On the Thursday following he [Lieut.-Col. Bolts] was received int hat rank on board his ship with a salute of artillery, and afterwards was entertained at a sumptuous dinner given in his honour by His Excellency in the presence of the nobility and persons of rank.

20 *July*, 1776 (p. 461).

Leghorn, 17 July: The Imperial Austrian ship destined for Coromandel began last Thursday to take in cargo of various sorts (which had been transported here from Trieste) and also arms and ammunition of war. Permission has been granted for her equipment in this port with sailors, pilots and other officials, and already many have signed on for service in the same.

3 *September*, 1776 (p. 566).

Leghorn, 30 August : The Company of marines embarked this morning about half past seven on board the Royal Tuscan Frigate of War, *Etruria*, which has left this harbour with all speed, whence it has now passed into the road to set sail for a short cruise of a few days against the fleet of Barbary pirates who are said to infest these seas. The Imperial ship of war and merchantman. *Joseph and Theresa*, is completing her preparations for her departure for Coromandel. She will start immediately after the return of the Royal Tuscan Frigate, which is intended to escort her as far as the Canary Islands.

21 *December* 1776 (p. 815).

Leghorn, 18 December : The English brigantine, which is to go with the Austrian ship. *Joseph and Theresa*, in order to carry a part of the provisions and to be serviceable to her, has just arrived.

24 *December*, 1776 (p. 821).

Leghorn, 20 December : The English merchant brigantine, which sailed with the Imperial Austrian ship, *Joseph and Theresa*, with a cargo of various provisions, returned here on Wednesday evening in 40 days from the Island of Madeira, whence her captain was sent back after having transferred a part of her cargo on board the same [Austrian ship]. The remainder has been brought back to the merchants Otto Francke (Ottofrank) and Co. of Hamburg, as [it would have been] a hindrance to the business as a whole. The said English captain reported that he had left the abovementioned ship at another island of the Canaries beyond Madeira, waiting for a favourable wind, and that both the Commandant and the crew were in the enjoyment of perfect health.

28 *December*, 1776 (p. 830).

Leghorn, 25 December : The Royal Tuscan Frigate of War, *Etruria*, which has remained disarmed in this harbour since her return from the last voyage made beyond the Straits [of Gibraltar], where she accompained the Imperial Austrian ship, *Joseph and Theresa*, to which allusion has formerly so frequently been made, has been sent into wet dock.

I

Steps taken in Bombay.

Bombay Diary 16 *July* 1777.[5]

Signed a Letter to the Governor General and Council [of Fort William], in which We advised them of our having received Intelligence by a Vessel from Delagoa that a Ship under Austrian Colours and with a very rich Cargo had Arrived there and had been run ashore in endeavouring to bring her into the River. That Mr Bolts, formerly on the Bengal Establishment, was principal Owner and Commander of her, under a Commission from the Empress, and had taken in his Cargo at Leghorn and Trieste ; that his Associate. Mr Ryan [6] arrived here on the abovementioned Country [coasting] Vessel, and proceeds on the *Hastings* prow [should be Snow] to Bengal.

Consultation at Bombay Castle, 20 *August* 1777.[7]

Reperused the Honble. Company's Commands dated the 21st February.

We have already transmitted to the Governor General and Council all the Information

[5] *Bombay Public Consultations* (1777), XLIV. 287.

[6] Francis Ryan, one of Bolts' partners.

[7] *Bombay Public Consultations* (1777), XLIV. 322.

we have gained of the Austrian ship mentioned in the 30th and the following Paragraphs, Copies of which must now be sent to . . . the President and Council at Madras, as it appears thereby that the Ship's Destination was for the Coromandel Coast, tho' by what we have heard it seems doubtful whether she can be got off from the Bar of Delagoa River, where she ran aground.

Letter from the President and Council at Bombay to the President and Council at Fort St. George, dated 28 August 1777.[8]

We enclose an extract from the Honble. Company's commands, dated the 20th February last, and a copy of the paper therein refer'd to. The Ship *Joseph and Theresa* arrived at Delagoa in the month of April last and ran ashore in endeavouring to get into the river. It seems doubtful whether she will be got off, but we think it proper to acquaint you that Mr Ryan, the person mention'd in the extract, arrived here some time agoe in a Country Vessell from Delagoa and took passage from hence in the *Hastings* Snow for your Coast, which Vessell has been forced into Damaun[9] by stress of weather and we suppose will not be able to proceed on her voyage for some time.

Letter from the Council at Surat to the Governor and Council of Bombay, dated 7 September 1777.[10]

Honble. Sir and Sirs. We dispatch this by express Pattamars [*pathmâr*, courier] to your Honor &ca. purposely to advise you of the arrival of an Imperial Austrian Ship, the *Joseph and Theresa*, commanded by Mr William Bolts, Lieutenant Colonel in her Imperial Majesty's Service, last from Delagoa, after a passage of six weeks, which anchored at the Bar the 5th instant in the Evening.

Lieutenant Colonel Bolts arrived at the French Gardens yesterday Evening, and addressed a letter to the Chief [Monsieur Anquetil de Briencourt], Copy of which is now enclosed, with the reply thereto, which we hope will meet your approval [not traced].

Having duly considered the Commands of the Honble. the Court of Directors with respect to this ship, we have desired the Nabob [Nawàb, the Governor] to take effectual Care that the inhabitants in this City, under his protection, have not any commercial or other intercourse with these adventurers, and the Chief will take every Justifiable measure to prevent those under our protection and the powers about this place, and by the influence of the Nabob, the foreign nations resident here, from having any connexion with them.

In the 35th Paragraph of the commands aforementioned, the Honble. the Court of Directors have been pleased to order that if any Subjects of England are on board that vessel, they shall be arrested and sent to England by the first opportunity. But should any land here, from the situation of this Government and the neutrality of this Port, we are led to think that this would be esteemed an unjustifiable Act, And therefore beg leave to be favored with your sentiments thereon.

You will be pleased to remark the particular Claims made by Lieutenant Colonel Bolts in his letter to the Chief, and with respect to which we request your full and explicit orders.

We do not yet know what Cargo she has on board, but shall fully advise you of any particulars that may come to our knowledge respecting this vessel.

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[8] *Bombay Letters Sent*, (1777) LVI. 107-108.

[9] Damân, old Portuguese settlement on the Gujarât Coast.

[10] *Letters Received at Bombay*, (1777), XLIII.

Extract from a Consultation at Bombay Castle, 16 *September* 1777.[11]

The Austrian Ship *Joseph and Theresa*, mentioned by the Honble. Company in their Commands, dated the 21st of February last, having unexpectedly arrived at Surat Bar, The President [William Hornby] still continuing much indisposed, desired Mr Carnac to summon this Meeting to deliberate what Measures to pursue on the Occasion.

The Surat Advices received yesterday were then read, together with the Honble. Companys Commands respecting the Ship, which being taken into consideration, the following Resolutions were Unanimously Agreed to.

We much approve of the Conduct the Chief has hitherto observed with respect to this Ship, and of the Answer He returned to the Application made by Mr Bolts, [not traced] and He must be directed to continue to pursue every justifiable Method to prevent all commercial and other Intercourse with every Person whatever belonging to, or concerned in this Ship, and for that purpose He must likewise make use of the Nabobs Influence.

The Chief and Council must also be instructed to raise every difficulty they legally can to obstruct Mr Bolts from making an Investment of Cotton, or any other kind of goods at Surat, and in this Point also to apply for the Nabobs Assistance.

Neither Mr Bolts or any of the Persons concerned in this Expedition must be permitted to have any intercourse with the Nabob, or any of the Officers of Government.

As the Honble. Company have pronounced that by the Laws of England now in force We have a right to seize all British Subjects who may be found in the East Indies without their Permission, the Chief and Council must be directed to take every consistent Opportunity for putting such Laws into Execution, but to prevent all Mistakes it must be observed to them that We are assured Mr Bolts himself is not a British Subject.

We are inclined to believe that when the Ships Company are apprized of the handsome Bounty Money we give to Recruits, many of them will enter voluntarily, and the Chief and Council must do their utmost to prepare a List of the Ships Crew as well as the Account they have promised of the Cargo.

With respect to the Requisitions made by Mr Bolts of Refreshments for the Sick, and Assistance for the Vessell, Humanity will not permit of our absolutely refusing them. The Chief and Council must not therefore deny them such aid in these Points as may be indispensibly requisite.

Should the Chief and Council be at a Loss on any other Points, they must refer to the Orders We have given respecting Swedish and other Foreign Ships which have at different times resorted to Surat.

Advice must be sent to all the Subordinate Settlements of the arrival of this Ship at Surat, with the most strict directions to prevent by every legal Method any Investments being provided for her within their Jurisdiction, and to carry the Company's Orders respecting her strictly into Execution.

However much We may wish to shew all possible respect to a Commission from so illustrious a Personage as the Empress Queen, We cannot, consistent with the Duty We owe to our Employers and their Orders, shew any distinction to Mr Bolts, who, after having been in their Service, has engaged in Commerce so repugnant to their Interest, and whose former Conduct at Bengal occasioned his being arrested and sent to England by an Act of that Government.

[11] *Bombay Public Consultations*, (1777), XLIV. 234-236.

Letter from the President and Council of Bombay to the Chief and factors at Broach, dated 18 *September* 1777.[12]

Enclosed is an extract from the Honble. Company's commands dated the 21st February to which you will pay strict obedience.

The Austrian Ship therein mentioned having actually arrived at Surat, you are hereby enjoined upon no account to permit of any commercial or other intercourse being carried on with the persons concerned in that ship by any persons whatever under your jurisdiction, and to prevent by every legal method any investment of cotton or any other goods being provided for her in any of the districts subject to your management. In short, you are, as far as in you lies, to carry the Companys orders respecting her strictly into execution.

Letter from the Council at Surat to the Governor and Council at Bombay, dated 27 *September* 1777.[13]

We dispatch this chiefly to advise you the Imperial Ship left the Bar some days ago for Gogo.[14] Mr Bolts from the impediments he found here, not having been able to transact any business here, we imagine induced him to take this Step. His Cargo consists of Iron, Copper, Steel, Cochineal, Saffron, a large quantity of Ordnance, warlike Stores, some Jewelry and other Articles, amounting to about five (5) Lacs of Rupees, but the former are the principal. The Chief, on his departure, took every measure in his power to prevent Mr Bolts meeting with any Success, thro' his influence with the Nabob, getting him to write suitable Letters to the Rajahs of Bownagur [Bhaunagar in Kâthiâwar] and Gogo, and by advices the Chief has just received, we find Mr Bolts has not hitherto been able to transact any business there.

At the time this Ship was at the Bar, the weather would not permit our Gallivats[15] laying in the road, but we shall do what We possible (*sic*) can to communicate to the Ships Company the gratuity allowed to Recruits, to induce them to enter into the Company's Service. The other orders you have been pleased to give regarding this Ship will be duly attended to.

Letter from the Council at Broach to the President and Council at Bombay, dated 4 *October* 1777.[16]

We have taken every Precaution to prevent any Subjects of this Government having any Commercial Intercourse with the Austrian Ship mentioned in your Commands of the 11th Ultimo, and shall use our Endeavours to carry the Honble. Company's Orders into Execution. That Vessel has left Surat and is now at Bownagur, the Rajah of which place, it is reported, for the Consideration of 20,000 Rupees, has given free Liberty for the Persons concerned in her, both of Import and Export Trade, without further Duties of any kind. This, We think our Duty to notice to you, altho' We have not sufficient Grounds to mention it as a Certainty.

Letter from the President and Council of Bombay to the Residents at Broach, Tellicherry and Anjengo, dated 11 *October* 1777.[17]

Our Honble. Masters ships, *Rochford*, *Northington*, *Hawke*, arrived here from England the 12th, 13th and 15th August, and enclos'd is an extract of their Commands received by

[12] *Bombay Letters Sent*, (1777) LVI. 115. [13] *Letters Received at Bombay*, (1777), XLIII.

[14] Gogâ, old seaport on the Kathiâwâr Coast, near Bhaunagar.

[15] Large rowing boat (Port. *galeota*), derivation uncertain, connected with "galley".

[16] *Letters Received at Bombay*, (1777), XLIII. 321.

[17] *Bombay Letters Sent*, (1777), LVI, 124, 126-127.

those Ships, to which you will pay the most strict attention, and particularly to that respecting the Austrian Ship, the *Joseph and Theresa*, which has since arrived at Surat Bar. You will therefore not only avoid all commercial and other intercourse with these adventurers, but use all your influence and every other legal method to prevent any purchases being made at your Settlement or in the Neighbourhood of any article of investment for that Ship.

Letter from the Council at Surat to the Governor and Council of Bombay, dated 17 *October* 1777.[18]

The Chief is informed that Mr Bolts has not yet been able to sell any part of his cargoe, the Rajah of Bownagur having absolutely forbid the merchants under his protection trading with him, but that he has landed at Gogo Musters [samples] in hopes of disposing of it, and has sent to the Pundit[19] of Amadavad, offering him a present of 25,000 Rs. annually in lieu of customs, provided he will permit him to establish a factory and carry on a trade there. Captain Lofthouse, when he went to the northward, got four men from his vessel, and we hear that Mr Bolts has purchased a small snow from the Portugueze, which they had bought here and sent over to Gogo.

Consultation at Bombay Castle, 29 *October* 1777.[20]

The President lays before Us Extract of a Letter from the Commander of an English Vessel at Delagoa to his Owners, by which We find Mr Bolts asserts a right to the Sovereignty of that Country by virtue of a Grant from the African King, and has in consequence thereof pulled down the English Colours by force and a house erected by the Captain for the purpose of carrying on his Trade. This Conduct We think excludes Mr Bolts from any right to the least Consideration from this Government and must be duly noticed to the Honble. Company.

Enclosures.

1. Extract of a letter from Captain John Cahill at Delagoa to his Owners, dated 18 July 1777.

This Letter goes by the Europe Ship that arrived here in March last, belonging to the Empress of Germany [Austria] and commanded by Mr. William Bolts, who is a Lieutenant Colonel in the Imperial Service. He has taken possession of Delagoa since his Arrival for her Imperial Majesty; he has left ten people here and many of his Guns.

One Mr Ryan, who came out on this Ship, is gone Passenger with Captain Burton to Bombay with an intent of freighting two Vessels for this place next Season. I hope you will cross him as much as possible, if you intend carrying on this Trade.

The enclosed is a Copy of a Letter from Mr Bolts to me after he made a Treaty with the Coffree [*Kâfirî*, Kaffir, Caffre, native African] King named Copell[21] for some Ground, desiring I would haul down an English Jack, which I hoisted on shore of a Sunday on a House that I built. I would not comply with his request, as my Colours were hoisted before his. When he found me positive, he ordered his People to pull the House down and likewise the Colours.

18 *Letters Received at Bombay*, (1777), XLIII, 336.

19 Pandit, usually shortened to Pant, Marâthâ title, here applied to the Marâthâ Governor of Ahmadâbâd.

20 *Bombay Public Consultations* (1777), XLIV. 464, 476-477.

21 Also called in the correspondence (*infra*) Mohaar Capell.

2. Letter from Mr Bolts to Captain Cahill.

Sir

By virtue of special Powers from my Sovereign, Her Imperial Majesty the Empress Queen of Hungary, &c., &c., I have concluded a Treaty with the Rajah Copell, by which he gives up to Her Majesty for ever the Sovereignty of this River Timbe [Tembi], alias Mafumo, together with all the land within a certain district on the Western side thereof. I therefore hope that you will not take it amiss that I request you, Captain Cahill, will not in future order any Colours to be hoisted on her Majesty's Territory, where none but the Imperial Colours will be permitted. In the mean time, any Ground you may want to build Houses or Banksalls[22] on for your Conveniency, will be very readily allowed, subject always to Her Majesty's Sovereignty.

On board the Guiseppe and Teresa, 4th May 1777.

(signed) WILLIAM BOLTS

Bombay Diary 16 *November* 1777.[23]

Received by the Sloop *Leopold* a Letter from Mr. Bolts dated at Gogo, the 31st Ultimo, wherein he complained of the conduct of the Commander of an English vessel at Delagoa and of the treatment he met with at Surat, and put to Us two Queries to which he requested our Answers.

Consultation at Bombay Castle, 18 *November* 1777.[24]

Read the Letter received the 16th Instant from Mr William Bolts [see *infra*], to which a Reply must be given to the following purport by the Secretary.

That We cannot in Justice decide upon the Affair at Delagoa until we have called upon Captain Cahill and heard his Account of the matter.

That We cannot consider mere Strangers in India as entitled to the same privilege and attention in our ports as the Nations who have had Establishments and traded in the Country for upwards of a Century and a half by vertue of Royal Grants and Phirmaunds [*farmân*].

That the Company, by Phirmaunds from the Mogul [Mughal Emperor] are Governors of his Castle and fleet at Surat, and as his Allies, must certainly be affected by any Acts offensive to his Government.

Mr Bolts must be further acquainted that, circumstanced as he has been with our Honble. Employers, He must be sensible he can expect no further Countenance or Attention from Us than what the Laws of Hospitality indispensibly require.

Bombay Diary, 19*th November* 1777.[25]

The Secretary, by Order, signed a Letter to Mr Bolts exactly agreeable to the Preceding Consultation.

(*To be continued.*)

22 Warehouses, wharves; derivation uncertain, probably *bankśala*, through Malay *bangsal*.

23 *Bombay Public Consultations* (1777), XLIV, 489.

24 *Ibid*, 494.

25 *Ibid*, 501.

NEW LIGHT ON THE GUPTA ERA AND MIHIRAKULA.

BY K. B. PATHAK

I propose, in this paper, to determine the starting point of the Gupta era with the help of Jaina authors who preceded Albêrûnî, without relying in any way on the conflicting statements made by that celebrated Muhammadan writer, both as regards the origin and the epoch of the era so well known to the students of Indian epigraphy. I hope to be able to elucidate the problem, which has given rise to so much controversy, with greater precision and accuracy than have attended the efforts of those scholars, who have already discussed this interesting chronological question. There are four important passages in Jaina literature. Of their value as contributions to the study of Indian history it is impossible to speak too highly. The first passage [1] is the one in which Jinasena says that he wrote in Saka 705. This has elicited an interesting discussion and taxed to the utmost the ingenuity and learning of scholars in their attempts to identify the contemporary reigning sovereigns mentioned therein. The second, third and fourth passages are prophetic, in which future events are announced. Some of these events are historical, though they are mixed up with many legendary details. In the second passage [2] we are told by Jinasena that the Guptas reigned 231 years and were succeeded by Kalkirâja, who reigned 42 years and that his successor was Ajitañjaya. The third passage [3] is the one in which Jinasena's pupil Guṇabhadra says that Kalkirâja was the father and predecessor of Ajitañjaya, that he was a great tyrant who oppressed the world and persecuted the Jaina community of Nirgranthas, and that he reigned 40 years and died at the age of 70. As regards the date of Kalkirâja, we learn from Guṇabhadra that the tyrant was born when one thousand years of the *Duṣṣamakâla*, commencing from the Nirvâṇa of Mahâvira, had elapsed, and when there occurred the union of a *saṁvatsara* with Maghâ-nakṣatra, that is to say, when there occurred a Mâgha-saṁvatsara. The fourth [4] passage, which is an illuminating commentary on the second and third passages, is found in the *Trilokasâra*, in which Nemichandra reproduces some of these details of the story of Kalkirâja, and adds that the Śaka king was born when six hundred and five years and five months had passed by from the Nirvâṇa of Mahâvira, and that king Kalkirâja was born when three hundred and ninety-four years and seven months had gone by from the rise of the Śaka king, that is, when three hundred and ninety-four Śaka years and seven months had elapsed. If we add 605 years and 5 months to 394 years and 7 months—we get 1000 years, the interval of time, according to Guṇabhadra and Nemichandra, between the Nirvâṇa of Mahâvira and the birth of Kalkirâja. The most interesting and important point, which is worth noticing here, is the fact that the date of Kalkirâja, who immediately succeeded the Guptas, is given in terms of the Śaka era; he was born when 394 Śaka years and 7 months had gone by and when, according to Guṇabhadra, there occurred a Mâgha-saṁvatsara.

Before discussing the historical inferences which these facts suggest, we should know the dates of the three Jaina authors on whose statements we place our reliance. Jinasena wrote in Śaka 705. He must have died about Śaka 760, the latest date which can be assigned

[1] *Ante*, vol. xv, p. 143.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Given at the end of this paper.

[4] Also given at the end of this paper.

to his unfinished work, the *Âdipurâṇa*; and his pupil Guṇabhadra must have completed his *Uttarapurâṇa* only a few years later.[5] He was far advanced in years, when after finishing the remaining chapters of the *Âdipurâṇa*, he undertook to write his own portion of the *Mahâpurâṇa*.[6] And the use of the past tense आसीत् with reference to Guṇabhadra in the concluding *praśasti*[7], written in the time of his pupil Lokasena, clearly indicates that the former had long been gathered to his fathers by Śaka 820 (A.D. 898). It is obvious, therefore, that he wrote shortly after Śaka 760, in the latter half of the ninth century.

As regards the date of the *Trilokasâra*, we know that its author Nemichandra enjoyed the patronage of Châmuṇḍarâja (A.D. 778).[8] This statement is confirmed by Nemichandra himself who, in the concluding *praśasti* of his *Gomaṭasâra, Karmakâṇḍa*, ninth chapter, thus praises Châmuṇḍarâja—

अम्हि गुणा विसंभा गणहरदेवादि इड्ढिपत्ताणं ।
सो अजियसेणणाहो जस्स गुरू जयउ सो राऊ ।

[वृत्तिः] गणधरदेवादीनां ऋद्धिप्राप्तानां गुणा यस्मिन्विश्रांताः सोऽजितसेननाथो यस्य व्रतगुरुः स राजा सर्वोत्कर्षेण वर्तताम् ।

सिद्धंतुदयत्तग्गयणिम्मलवरणेमिचंदकरकलिया ।
गुणरयणभूषणंबुहि मइवेला भरउ भुवणयलं ॥

[वृत्तिः] सिद्धांतोदयाचले उदितनिर्मलवरनेमिचंद्रकिरणैर्वर्धिता गुणरत्नभूषणांबुधेश्चामुंडरायसमुद्रस्य मतिवेला भुवनतलं पूरयतु अथवा भुवने अतिशयेन प्रसरतु ।

In his *Purâṇa* completed in Śaka 700 Châmuṇḍarâja tells us that he was the disciple of Ajitasena and had the title of Guṇaratnabhûṣaṇa. From Śravaṇa Belgola inscriptions, we learn[9] that Châmuṇḍarâja was the minister of king Râchamalladeva, an ornament of the Gaṅga dynasty, which was uplifted by the sage Siṁhanandin. This was the Gaṅga king Râchamalla IV who was reigning in A.D. 977.[10] These facts are also alluded to in the Sanskrit commentary on the *Gomaṭasâra*, which opens thus—

श्रीमदप्रतिहतप्रभावस्याद्वादशासनगुहाभ्यंतरनिवासिप्रवादिमदांधसिंधुरसिंहायमानसिंहनंदिमुनींद्राभिनंदितगंगवंशललामराजसर्वज्ञाद्यनेकगुणनामधेयभागधेयश्रीमद्राज(च)मल्लदेवमहीवल्लभमहामात्यपदविराजमानरणरंगमल्लासहायपराक्रमगुणरत्नभूषणसम्यक्त्वरत्ननिलयादिविविधगुणनामसमासादितकीर्तिकांतश्रीमच्चामुंडरायप्रश्नावतीर्णैकचत्वारिंशत्पदनामसत्त्वप्ररूपणद्वारेणाशेषविनेयजननिकुरंबसंबोधनार्थं श्रीमन्नेमिचंद्रसैद्धांतचक्रवर्ती ....
इष्टविशिष्टदेवताविशेषं नमस्करोति ।

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[5] See my paper entitled 'Bhartṛihari and Kumârila', *Journal B.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 213.

[6] Compare *Uttarapurâṇa*, chapter 57—

जिनसेनानुगायास्मै पुराणकवये नमः ।
गुणभद्रभदन्ताय लोकसेनार्चितांघ्रये ॥

[7] Compare—

प्रत्यक्षीकृतलक्ष्यलक्षणविधिर्विश्वोपविद्यान्तरात्
सिद्धांताब्ध्यवसानयानजनितप्रागल्भ्यवृद्धेद्धधीः ।
नानानूननयप्रमाणनिपुणोगण्यैर्गुणैर्भूषितः
शिष्यः श्रीगुणभद्रसूरिरनयोरासीज्जगद्विश्रुतः ॥

[8] Nagar Inscrip. 46, *Epi. Car.* Vol. VIII—

त्रिलोकसारप्रमुख [प्रबन्धान्]
[विरच्य सर्वान्] भुवि नेमिचन्द्रः ।
विभाति सैद्धान्तिकसार्वभौम-
चामुण्डराजार्चितपादपद्मः ॥

[9] Mr Rice's *Sravaṇa Belgola Inscriptions*, Introd., p. 34.

[10] Mr. Rice's *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 47.

The Kannaḍa poet Ranna, who adorned the court of the Châlukya king Tailapa II, who was born in A.D. 949 and wrote his *Gadâyuddha* in A.D. 982, had Ajitasena for his teacher and Châmuṇḍarâja for his patron.[11] These facts lead to the conclusion that Nemichandra lived in the latter half of the tenth century. It is thus clear that Jinasena, Guṇabhadra and Nemichandra preceded Albêrûnî, who wrote in the first half of the eleventh century.

In order to enable Sanskrit scholars to realise the importance of the facts which Jaina literature holds in store for them, I must repeat here the exact words of Jinasena (*Harivaṁśa*, chapter 60)—

गुप्तानां च शतद्वयम् ॥
एकत्रिंशच्च वर्षाणि कालविद्भिरुदाहृतम् ॥ 487 ॥
द्विचत्वारिंशदेवातः कल्किराजस्य राजता ।
ततोऽजितंजयो राजा स्यादिन्द्रपुरसंस्थितः ॥ 488 ॥
वर्षाणां षट्शतीं त्यक्त्वा पंचाग्रां मासपंचकम् ।
मुक्तिं गते महावीरे शकराजस्ततोऽभवत् ॥ 552 ॥

Guṇabhadra says that when one thousand years of the *Dussamakâla*, commencing from the Nirvâṇa of Mahâvîra, had elapsed Kalkirâja was born. Jinasena says that the Śakarâja was born when 605 years and 5 months had passed by from the Nirvâṇa of Mahâvîra. If we subtract 605 years and 5 months from one thousand years, the remainder is 394 years and 7 months. It is thus clear that, according to Jinasena and Guṇabhadra, Kalkirâja was born when 394 years and 7 months had passed by from the birth of the Śaka king. Nemichandra says exactly the same thing, when he tells us that, after the lapse of 605 years and 5 months from the Nirvâṇa of Mahâvîra, the Śaka king was born, and that, after the lapse of 394 years and 7 months from the birth of the Śaka king, Kalkirâja was born. Guṇabhadra adds that when 394 years of the Śaka era and 7 months more had passed by, there occurred a Mâgha-saṁvatsara—

चतुर्मुखाह्वयः कल्की राजोद्वेजितभूतलः ।
उत्पत्स्यते मघासंवत्सरयोगसमागमे ॥

This is a prophecy put into the mouth of Gautama-Gaṇadhara, who says—

"There shall be born the king Kalkin, named Chaturmukha, the oppressor of the world, on the occurrence of the union of a *saṁvatsara* with the Maghâ-nakṣatra." When a *saṁvatsara* becomes मघानक्षत्रयुक्त, it is named माघसंवत्सर after the *nakṣatra*, the word मघा taking the termination अण् according to the *sûtra* of the *Jainendra Vyâkaraṇa*—

गुरूदयात् भाद् युक्तोऽब्दः (iii 2. 5.)

गुरुर्बृहस्पतिः तस्योदयो यस्मिन् नक्षत्रे तद्वाचिनो भृतः भासमर्थाद् युक्त इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं त्यो भवति यो युक्तोऽब्दः स चेदब्दः स्यात् । गुरूदयेन पुष्येण युक्तोऽब्दः पौष संवत्सर । फाल्गुनं वर्षम् । शब्दार्णव-चन्द्रिका.

Guṇanandin thus explains the *Jainendra sûtra*—

गुरुर्बृहस्पतिरुदेति यस्मिन् नक्षत्रे तद्वाचिनो भासमर्थात् युक्त इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं त्यो भवति योऽसौ युक्तः स चेदब्दः संवत्सरः स्यात् । इत्यण् । एरित्यखम् (iv. 4. 150) नैष पौषं भे (iv. 4. 157)[12] इति वचनम् । पौषः संवत्सरः पौषं वर्षम् । एवं-फाल्गुनः संवत्सरः फाल्गुनं वर्षम् । *Jainendraprakriyâ*, part ii, p. 162, Benares ed.

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[11] *Karṇâṭaka-kavi-charita*, p. 54.

[12] Cf. also यस्येति च, *Pâṇini* vi, 4, 148, and तिष्यपुष्ययोर्नक्षत्राणि, *Vârtika on Pâṇini*, vi. 4. 149.

Hemachandra, who owes his explanation to Sâkaṭâyana, says—

उदितगुरोर्भाद्युक्तेऽब्दे (ii 2. 5.)

उदितो गुरुर्बृहस्पतिर्यस्मिन् भे नक्षत्रे तद्वाचिनस्तृतीयान्ताद् युक्तेऽर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति सचेद्युक्तोऽब्दः संवत्सरः स्यात् । पुष्येणोदितगुरुणा युक्तं वर्षं पौषं वर्षम् । फल्गुनीभिरुदितगुरुभिर्युक्तः फाल्गुनः संवत्सरः । उदितगुरोरिति किम् । उदितशनैश्चरेण पुष्येण युक्तं वर्षमित्यत्र न भवति । भादिति किम् । उदितगुरुणा पूर्वरात्रेण युक्तं वर्षम् । अब्द इति किम् । मासे दिवसे वा न भवति ।

From the Jaina grammatical *sûtras* and commentaries cited above it is obvious that Guṇabhadra's expression मघासंवत्सरयोगसमागमे means "on the occurrence (समागमे) of the union (योग) of मघा [नक्षत्र] and a संवत्सर: that is to say, मघाभिर्युक्त संवत्सर माघ. The word माघ, in the sense of a Mâgha-saṁvatsara, is formed from मघा, which takes the instrumental case, by the suffix अण्; the आ of मघा, being elided, is replaced by अ of the suffix अण्, while अ, the first vowel in मघा, undergoes वृद्धि. We have thus the expression माघसंवत्सर. This is the teaching of Pûjyapâda, Sâkaṭâyana, Hemacandra and Guṇanandin.

The occurrence of a Mâgha-saṁvatsara in purely literary records, apart from early inscriptions and astronomical works, is of unique interest; and its supreme importance from a chronological point of view we shall now proceed to show.

We have seen that 394 Śaka years and 7 months had elapsed at the birth of Kalkirâja. The seven months completed belong to the current Saka year 395. The first day of the eighth month, Kárttika *śukla* 1, was the day on which Kalkirâja was born, since a Saka year commences with Chaitra *śukla* 1. The year that is actually mentioned by the Jaina writers is the expired Saka year 394. Let us convert this into an expired Vikrama year by the addition of 135 according to the rule—

स एव पंचाग्निकुनियुंक्त स्याद्विक्रमस्य हि ।
रेवाया उत्तरे तीरे सवत्सरांतिविश्रुत ॥ २ ॥ Jyotiṣasára.

The result is[13] the Vikrama year (394 + 135 =) 529 expired. This expired Vikrama year is identical with the expired Málava year 529, given as the second and later date in the Mandasor Inscription of Kumáragupta I and his feudatory Baṇdhuvarman and is expressed[14] in the following words—

वत्सरशतेषु पंचसु विशंत्य(विंशत्य)धिकेषु नवसु चाब्देषु ।
यातेष्वभिरम्यतपस्यमासशुक्लद्वितीयायां ॥

Vikrama Saṁvat 529 expired, Phâlguna *śukla* 2

Hence it is clear that the Málava era is the same as the Vikrama era of 57 B.C. In order to elucidate the point further, the expired Saka year 394 may be first converted into the corresponding Christian year by adding 78 thus—394 + 78 = 472 A.D.; and then this Christian year 472 can be converted into the Mâlava year 529 by adding 57; thus, 472 + 57 = 529, 472 = 529 − 57, or 394 + 78 = 529 − 57 = A.D. 472.

It is thus evident that the Mâlava era is the era of 57 B.C., which is known to us as the Vikrama Saṁvat.

[13] पंचाग्नि = 135; अग्नि = 3, कु = 1. अंकानां वामतो गतिः ।

[14] Dr. Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 83; *ante*, vol. XV, p. 198

The first year in the same inscription, which is 36 years earlier, is the Vikrama year 493 expired, Pauśa *śukla* 13—

मालवानां गणस्थित्या याते शतचतुष्टये ।
त्रिनवत्यधिकेऽब्दानां रि(ऋ)तौ सेव्यघनस्वने ॥
सहस्यमासशुक्लस्य प्रशस्तेऽह्नि त्रयोदशे ।

If we subtract 135 from Vikrama year 493 expired, we get Śaka 358 expired. It is therefore evident that Kumâragupta I, with his feudatory Bandhuvarman, was reigning in Śaka 358 expired, exactly 36 years before the birth of Kalkirâja in Śaka 394 expired. The year Śaka 394 expired is a Mâgha-saṁvatsara. I give below four Śaka years with corresponding cyclic years beginning with this Mâgha-saṁvatsara of Śaka 394 expired, according to the rule[15] of Varâhamihira—

Śaka	394	expired	Mâgha-saṁvatsara
,,	395	,,	Phâlguna-saṁvatsara
,,	396	,,	Chaitra-saṁvatsara
,,	397.	,,	Vaiśâkha-saṁvatsara

The date given in the Khoh grant of Parivrâjaka Mahârâja Hastin is Gupta-saṁvat 156, which is specified[16] as a Mahâ-Vaiśâkha-saṁvatsara—

षट्पंचाशोत्तरेऽब्दशते गुप्तनृपराज्यभुक्तौ महावैशाखसंवत्सरे कार्त्तिकमासशुक्लपक्षतृतीयायाम् ।

The four Śaka years with corresponding cyclic and Gupta years are exhibited in the following table; that the Gupta years are expired will be proved further on—

Śaka	394	expired	= Mâgha-saṁvatsara		= Gupta	153	expired.
,,	395	,,	= Phâlguna	,,	=	,,	154	,,
,,	396	,,	= Chaitra	,,	=	,,	155	,,
,,	397	,,	= Vaiśâkha	,,	=	,,	156	,,

It will be evident from the foregoing table that Gupta years can be converted into equivalent Śaka years by the addition of 241, in as much as each of the four equations stated above gives us a difference of 241. Kumâragupta I, with his feudatory Bandhuvarman, was thus reigning in Śaka 358, corresponding to Gupta-saṁvat 117[17] and to Vikrama year 493—

Śaka 358 = Gupta-saṁvat 117 = Mâlava or Vikrama 493.

And Kalkirâja was born 36 years later in Śaka 394, corresponding to Gupta-saṁvat 153 and to Vikrama year 529—

Śaka 394 = Gupta saṁvat 153 = Mâlava or Vikrama 529.

It is worth noting that the birth of Kalkirâja took place only 5 years later than the latest date recorded for Skandagupta—Gupta-saṁvat[18] 148, equivalent to Śaka 389,—and only one year earlier than the date[19] of his son, Kumâragupta II,—Gupta-saṁvat 154, equivalent to Śaka 395.

वर्षशते गुप्तानां सचतुःपंचाशदुत्तरे भूमिम् ।
शासति कुमारगुप्ते मासे ज्येष्ठे द्वितीयायाम् ॥

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15 Dr. Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, Appendix III, p. 161.

16 *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 95.

17 Bharadi inscription, *A. S. Progr. Rep. N. C.* 1907-8, p. 39. Valabhî is only another name of the Gupta era, see p. 295.

18 V. Smith's *Early History of India*, 3rd ed., p. 327.

19 *Annual Progress Report of the Superintendent, Hindu and Buddhist Monuments, Northern Circle,* 1915, p. 6.

That the Gupta year mentioned in this inscription, as well as the one mentioned in the Khoh grant of Mahârâja Hastin, referred to above is to be taken as expired is evident from the following inscription of Budhagupta,[20] Gupta-saṁvat 157 expired—

गुप्तानां समतिक्रांते सप्तपंचाशदुत्तरे ।
शते समानां पृथिवीं बुधगुप्ते प्रशासति ॥

The general conclusion is that all the Gupta years including those given in the above table must be taken as expired.

This point can be further cleared up by a comparison of the five corresponding years of the Vikrama, Śaka and Gupta eras exhibited in the following table—

Mâlava or Vikrama.	Śaka.	Gupta.
529 expired	394 expired	153
530 ,,	395 ,,	154
531 ,,	396 ,,	155
532 ,,	397 ,,	156
533 expired	398 expired	157 expired.

The Gupta year 157 is specified as an expired year in the inscription of Budhagupta which has been quoted above. The difference between the expired Śaka year 398 and the expired Gupta year 157 is 241. The difference between the Śaka year 394 and the Gupta year 153 is also 241. The Śaka year 394 is known to be expired ; therefore the Gupta year 153 must be taken as expired. The conclusion that forces itself upon us is that all the Gupta years mentioned in inscriptions are expired years and can be converted into corresponding expired Śaka years by the addition of 241.

We have here established five uniform equations between expired Gupta and expired Śaka years, with a difference of 241 in each case. The last equation is most important.

Expired Gupta year } 157=398 { Expired Śaka year.

This date of Budhagupta inscribed on two Buddha images is thus expressed[21]—"When the year one hundred and fifty-seven of the Guptas had expired, on the 7th day of the month Vaiśâkha while Budhagupta is ruling the earth." The 7th of Vaiśâkha belongs to the current Gupta year 158 corresponding to the current Śaka year 399—

Current Gupta year } 158=399 { Current Śaka year.

Thus the difference between current Gupta and current Śaka years is also 241, the same as the difference between expired Gupta and expired Śaka years. Now the Sârnath date of Budhagupta, expired Gupta year 157, is only 8 years earlier than the date of the same Gupta king given[22] in the Eraṇ pillar inscription—

शते पंचषष्ट्यधिके वर्षाणां भूपतौ च बुधगुप्ते ।
आषाढमासशु[क्ल]द्वादश्यां सुरगुरोर्दिवसे ॥

The date is "in the year 165, on the 12th day of the bright half of Âṣâḍha, on Thurdsay." We are now in a position to explain this date thus—

Expired Gupta year } 165=406 { Expired Śaka year.

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[20] *Ibid*, p. 7.

[21] *Ibid*, p. 7.

[22] *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 89.

"The 12th day of the bright half of Âshâḍha and Thursday" belong to the current Gupta year 166 corresponding to the current Śaka year 407—

Current Gupta year } 166=407 { Current Śaka year.

Here we cannot take the expired Gupta year 165 as current and make it correspond with the current Śaka year 407 as, in that case, the difference between 165 and 407 would be 242, instead of 241 as required by the statements of the Jaina authorities and the Sârnath inscription of Budhagupta thus—

Expired Gupta year } (a) 165=(b) 406 { Expired Śaka year.

Current Gupta year } (c) 166=(d) 407 { Current Śaka year.

A second reason for not making the Gupta year 165 correspond with the Śaka year 407 is that from our established equation—

Expired Gupta year } 157=398 { Expired Śaka year,

it is evident that the Gupta year 165 is 8 years later than the Gupta year 157, while the Śaka year 407 is 9 years later than the corresponding Śaka year 398. A careful consideration of these facts leads to the conclusion that expired or current Gupta years can be converted into corresponding expired or current Śaka years by adding 241.

The date in the pillar inscription of Budhagupta has been the subject of calculation and controversy for more than half a century. Many scholars have attempted to interpret this date by the statements of Alberûnî, which were admitted on all hands to be conflicting. It may therefore be interesting to point out how many statements of this celebrated Muhammadan writer can now be accepted as correct. He says[23] that the era of Ballaba is subsequent to that of Śaka by 241 years. The era of the Guptas also commences the year 241 of the era of Śaka. Then he mentions the year 1088 of the era of Vikramâditya, the year 953 of the era of Śaka, the year 712 of the era of Ballaba and of that of the Guptas, as equivalent years. These statements are reliable, as they are in agreement with our equation thus—

	Mâlava or Vikrama		Śaka		Gupta
(a)	529	=	394	=	153
(b)	1088	=	953	=	712
	559		559		559

The difference between Mâlava 529 and Śaka 394 is 135; that between Vikrama 1088 and Śaka 953 is also 135; the difference between Śaka 394 and Gupta 153 is 241; and that between Śaka 953 and Gupta-Valabhî 712 is also 241; the difference between the Mâlava year 529 and the Gupta year 153 is 376; and the difference between the Vikrama 1088 and the Gupta-Valabhî year 712 is also 376. It is also interesting to note that from the year of the birth of Kalkirâja in Śaka 394 or Gupta year 153, when the Gupta empire was still enduring, to the year A.D. 1031-32 to which Alberûnî refers as his gauge-year, 559 years had elapsed.[24] So that his equation (b) is as accurate as if it had been formed by adding 559 to each of the equivalent years of the three eras in our own equation (a).

[23] *Gupta Inscriptions*, Intro., p. 23 f.

[24] *Ante*, vol. xvii, p. 213, n. 1.

An interesting peculiarity of the years of the Mâlava era deserves to be noticed here. The second date in the Mandasor inscription of Kumâragupta I and Bandhuvarman is the Mâlava year 529 expired, Phâlguna *śukla* 2. The equivalent Śaka year is 394 expired. Deduct 394 from our present Saka year 1839 in Western India. The result is 1445. Add 1445 to 529; the result is 1974. This will be our Mâlava or Vikrama year on Phâlguna *śukla* 2 next (April 14, 1918) in Western India. This is true according to our almanac. Let us now turn to the Mandasor inscription[25] of Yaśodharman, where the expired Mâlava year 589 with the season of Vasanta is thus mentioned—

पञ्चसु शतेषु शरदां यातेष्वेकान्नवतिसहितेषु ।
मालवगणस्थितिवशात्कालज्ञानाय लिखितेषु ॥
यस्मिन्काले कलमृदुगिरां कोकिलानां प्रलापा
भिन्दन्तीव स्मरशरनिभाः प्रोषितानां मनांसि ॥
भृङ्गालीनां ध्वनिरनुरतं भारमन्द्रश्च यस्मि-
न्नाधूतज्यं धनुरिव नदच्छ्रूयते पुष्पकेतोः ॥
प्रियतमकुपितानां रामयन्बद्धरागं
किसलयमिव मुग्धं मानसं मानिनीनां ।
उपनयति नभस्वान्मानभङ्गाय यस्मि-
न्कुसुमसमयमासे तत्र निर्मापितोयम् ॥

Here the date is the वसन्त, *i.e.* चैत्र and वैशाख of the expired Mâlava year 589, कुसुमसमय or पुष्पसमय being synonymous with वसन्त (Amara I,3.18). To-day is अक्षयतृतीया, *i.e.* वैशाख शुक्ल ३ of the Saka year 1839 (April 24, 1917) in Western India. The expired Mâlava year 589 is 60 years later than the expired Mâlava year 529. Add 60 to the expired Śaka 394. The result is the expired Saka 454 corresponding to Mâlava 589. Now deduct 454 from our present Saka year 1839; the remainder is 1385. Add 589 to 1385 and we get Mâlava year 1974 corresponding to our present Saka year on अक्षयतृतीया. But our Vikrama-saṁvat to-day is 1973 because it is कार्त्तिकादि and will be found to be identical with the Mâlava year 1974 on our next Phâlguna *śukla* 2, as has been shown above. This may be illustrated by the following diagram—

Expired Mâlava 529 = Expired Saka 394
+ 60 years
Mâlava 589 = Saka 454
वसंत
+ 1385 years
Mâlava 1974 / Vikrama saṁvat 1973 = वसंत अक्षयतृतीया Saka 1839

Expired Mâlava 529 = Expired Saka 394
फाल्गुन शु. २
+ 1445 years
Mâlava 1974 / Vikrama saṁvat 1974 [26] फाल्गुन शु. २ Saka expired 1839

[25] *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 154.

[26] The Northern and Southern Vikrama 1974 and 1973 as well as Saka 1839 are expired years. Dr. Flet's view that expired Saka years are used owing to the adoption of the Saka era by astronomers is thus untenable.

The conclusion that is forced upon us is that the years of the Mâlava era in the times of he Guptas and the Hûnas were Chaitrâdi Vikrama years. This will enable us to refute the opinion of Dr. Kielhorn[27] who, while admitting that the Vikrama era was called Mâlava, says: "The Vikrama era was Kârttikâdi from the beginning, and it is probable that the change which has gradually taken place in the direction of a more general use of the Caitrâdi year was owing to the increasing growth and influence of the Śaka era." This erroneous view is also shared by Dr. Fleet[28] who says: "It can hardly be doubted that the original scheme of the Vikrama years is the one commencing with the first day of the bright half of Kârttika (October—November)."

The fact that the years of the Mâlava era are Chaitrâdi is most important. It will enable us not only to establish the absolute identity of the Gupta era with the Valabhî era, but also to ascertain the exact difference between the years of the Gupta era and of the Mâlava era on the one hand, and those of the Śaka era on the other. The date of Col. Tod's Verâwal[29] inscription is Vikrama-saṁvat 1320 and Valabhî-saṁvat 945, Âshâḍha *vadi* 13 Ravi. From Diwan Bahadur Pillai's *Indian Chronology*, Table x, p. 92, we learn that Âshâḍha *vadi* Ravivâra falls in Śaka 1186 corresponding to Caitrâdi Vikrama 1321, and is Sunday, 25th May 1264, according to the Christian era. The Vikrama year 1320 mentioned in this inscription as equivalent to Valabhî saṁvat 945 is thus southern and Kârttikâdi; therefore the corresponding Chaitrâdi Vikrama year or Mâlava year is 1321. We thus get the following equation—

	Śaka		Mâlava		Valabhî
(*a*)	1186	—	1321	=	945

By deducting 792 from the above we get the next equation —

	Śaka		Mâlava		Valabhî
(*b*)	394	—	529	=	153

By deducting 36 from (*b*) we get the following equation —

	Śâka		Mâlava		Valabhî
(*c*)	358	—	493	=	117

We know[30] that Kumâragupta I was reigning in Gupta-saṁvat 117, which is thus identical with the Valabhî year 117. The last equation also proves that the exact difference between the Gupta and Śaka years is 241; while that between the Mâlava and Gupta years is 376. Here our argument is based on Col. Tod's Verâwal inscription. This argument is easier to understand than that which is founded on the Mâgha-saṁvatsara of Śaka 394 expired, and which presupposes a knowledge of the grammatical *sûtras* of Pûjyapâda and Śâkaṭâyana. The conclusion arrived at by these two independent lines of argument is the same, namely, that the difference between Gupta and Śaka years is 241. We have also demonstrated that the difference between current Gupta years and current Śaka years is **241**. Thus—

Expired Gupta 157 = 398 Śaka expired.

Current Gupta 158 = 399 Śaka current.

27 *Ante*, vol. xx, p. 325 ff.

28 *Gupta Inscriptions*, Intro. p. 66 f., n 2.

29 *Gupta Inscriptions*, Intro. p. 85.

30 *A. S. Progr. Rep. N. G.* 1907-08, p. 39; *Ep. Ind.*, vol. x, p. 70.

It is of importance to note that in converting a Gupta-Valabhî year into its Śaka equivalent, it is not necessary to know beforehand whether the Gupta-Valabhî year is expired or current. If the resulting Śaka is expired, the Gupta-Valabhî year must be expired. On the other hand, if the Śaka year is current, the corresponding Gupta-Valabhî year must also be current. These observations can be illustrated by the Kaira grant of Valabhî-saṁvat 330 and by the Verâwal inscription of Valabhî-saṁvat 927. The date in the Kaira grant is thus expressed[31]—

Saṁ. 300 30 dvi-Mârgaśira śu. 2.

Here the Valabhî year 330 can be converted into Śaka 571 by adding 241. The exact date is अधिकमार्गशिर्षे शुद्ध २. On referring to Hindu Tables we find that the intercalary Mârgaśîrṣa actually falls in Śaka 571. This Śaka year is therefore current and equivalent to Valabhi 330. Our equation is thus—

Current Valabhî 330=571 Śaka current.

The date of the Verâwal inscription of Valabhî-saṁvat 927 is thus expressed[32]—

Śrîmad-Valabhî saṁvat 927 Phâlguna Śu. 2 Sau (Sô) mê. By adding 241 to 927 we get the following equation—

Valabhî 927=1168 Śaka.

By astronomical calculations the late Mr. S. B. Dikshit arrived at Śaka 1167 expired as the equivalent year. Therefore the current Śaka year is 1168, which corresponds to current Valabhî 927. Our equation therefore is—

Current Valabhî 927 =1168 Śaka current.

These two records dated in current Valabhî years are most important and interesting—as they amply refute the erroneous theory of Dr. Fleet that the running difference between current Gupta-Valabhî years and current Śaka years is 242. Nor can we accept as correct his opinion that the two Vikrama years 706 and 1303 are southern and the nominal equivalents of the current Valabhî years 330 and 927 respectively. For, on a comparison with the following equations—

Śaka		Mâlava		Gupta-Valabhî
394	=	529	=	153
571	=	706	=	330
1168	=	1303	=	927

It is obvious that these Vikrama years are Mâlava or Caitrâdi and the real equivalents of the two Valabhî years, and do not differ from southern Vikrama years, because they are coupled with the months of Mârgaśîrsa and Phâlguna in these inscriptions.

On the other hand the year 386, which is the date in the Nepal inscription of Mânadeva, is expired, because it can be converted into expired Śaka 627 by adding 241, and does not correspond to current Śaka 628, as maintained by Dr. Fleet.[33]

Albêrûnî's first statement that Gupta or Valabhî years can be converted into Śaka years by adding 241 was perfectly accurate. But it was invalidated by a second statement which he made to the effect that the Gupta era dated from the extermination of the Guptas. This led many scholars to discredit his statements entirely.

(*To be continued.*)

[31] *Gupta Inscriptions*, Intro. p. 93. [32] *Gupta Inscriptions*, Intro. p. 91.

[33] *Ibid*, p. 95 ff.

THE WIDE SOUND OF *E* AND *O* WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO GUJARATI.

BY N. B. DIVATIA, B.A.; BANDRA.

IN an appendix to his article on the "Proposed Bardic and Historical Survey of Rajputâna"[1] Dr. Tessitori has done me the honor of mentioning my theory on the subject mentioned at the head of this article, and very courteously advanced certain reasons for disagreeing with me. My theory is that the vocalic groups, अइ and अउ pass through an intermediate step—अय and अव (eventually अय् and अव्)—before assuming the wide sounds ॲ and ऑ. Dr. Tessitori holds that this intermediate step does not play any part, and that the अइ and अउ sounds undergo a process of contraction through suppression of the *hiatus*, the only intermediate step thereafter being that of the dipthongal forms ऐ and औ.

His reasons for differing from me are put under three heads. I shall deal with each one serially :—

(1) There are no instances of अइ—अउ of O. W. Râjasthâni having changed to अय-अव. The examples quoted by me—वयर from वइर, वयरागी from वइरागी and पयसार from पइसार are disposed of by Dr. Tessitori by stating

(*a*) that O. W. Râjasthâni MSS. often write य for इ; and

(*b*) that वयर and वयरागी are *tatsamas*[2] (meaning thereby Prâkrit words used unchanged in O. W. Râj.), and that the अय in them may be a corruption of Sanskrit ऐ instead of a modification of O. W. Râj. अइ.

My answer to this is as under:

In the first place I take my stand on the broad basis of the general principle that, when unaccented, medial इ and उ are respectively changed to य and व during their transit into Gujarâti. This will include cases of such इ and उ preceded by अ as well as by other vowels. I therefore do not see why the issue should be confined to the इ and उ of अइ and अउ. Necessarily, instances under this restricted class will be fewer.[3] But if instances can be shown to prove the operation of this change over a wider field, that very fact should strengthen the case of अइ and अउ passing into अय and अव. The following, then, are some instances to prove this general principle :—

Sanskrit.	Prâkṛ. or Apabhr.	O. W. Râj. or Gujarâti.
कोकिल:	कोइलु	कॉयल
	पइअं (*Deśya*)	पयडुं
	पइसार	पयसार
वैरं	वइरु	वयर
वैरागी	वइरागी	वयरागी
उपविष्टक:	उवइट्ठउ-बइठउ	बयठउ

[1] *JBAS*. N. S. XII, 1916.

[2] The liberty taken with the recognized nomenclature in extending the meaning of *tatsama* to Prâkṛit words that have undergone no change in transit from Prâkṛit to O. W. Raj. may at first sight strike one as a little bold. But this is another instance of Dr. Tessitori's happy choice of names, (the first one being the name O. W. Râjasthâni) ; for it accounts, in a single suggestive word, for the use of pure Prâkṛit words in later old Gujarâti works, just as we should and do use Sanskrit *tatsamas* in our present-day Gujarâtî ; thus explaining the apparent anamoly of older Prâkṛit words appearing side by side with words of later evolution in the old Gujarâtî works I speak of.

[3] For a further restriction see Appendix A.

Sanskrit.	Prâkṛ. or Apabhr.	O. W. Râj. or Gujarâtî.
प्रविष्टकः	पइट्ठउ-पइठउ	पयठउ
देवकुलं	देउलं, देउलु	देवळ (Guj.)
अधुना	अहुणा-हउणा	हवणां (हमणां) (Guj.)
व्याकुलकः	वाउलउ	बावरो (व्हावरो) (Guj.)
	बाउल्ली (Deśya)	बावली
आयुष्यकं	आऊखउं—आउखउं	आवखुं (Guj.)
मातृका	माउडी	मावडी (Guj.)
मातरः	माउरउ (possible *Apabhr.*)	मावरो (Guj.)
पादुका	पाउडी	पांवडी (Guj.)
गौरी	गउरी	गवरी (Guj.—at the end of proper names, *e. g.*, चंदागवरी, &c.)
	देसाउर	देशावर
नूपुरं	नेउरु	नेवर (Guj.—the fetlocks of a horse, "नेवर अथडावछे")
नाथकक:	नाहुलउ-नाउलउ	नावलो (Guj.)[4]

(The practice of sometimes writing चवथा for चौथा in Marâṭhi may be noted as throwing an incidental light on this process.)

The principle of anti-*samprasâraṇa* operates over a larger sphere, for, not confined to medial इ and उ, it even affects final इ and उ in cases like the following :——

Prâkṛit.	Apabhr., or O. W. Râj.	Gujarâtî.
	थाइ	थाय
	जाइ	जाय
	खाइ	खाय
(पादः)	पाओ—पाउ	पाव Hindi
(घातः)	घाओ—घाउ	घाव ,,
(ततः)	तउ	तव

[4] वयर, वयरागी and पयसार are cited by Dr. Tessitori himself. I also find वयर in *Vimala Prabandha* (V. S. 1568), Khanda V, st. 25, *Gautama Râsa* (V. S. 1412), st. 17; वियरी (=वयरी=वैरी) in a translation of *Bhuvanadîpa* (V. S. 1557) *Gujarâta Śâlâ Patra*, March, 1910, p. 115, which has also व्रिरी at p. 116, and विर at p. 112; वयरागी in the *Gautama Râsa*, st. 35; बयठउ in *Sanghapati Samarasinha Râsa* (V. S. 1471); also in *Vaitâlâ Panchavisi*, Prose, (about V. S. 1629), P. 88, बयठु at p. 100, बयेठउ at p. 104; पयठा at p. 136; पयठउ in *Gautama Râsa*, st. 9; गवरी in *Sudayavatsavîra charitra* (about the beginning of the 16th century of the Vikrama era); गिवरी in *Karpûramanjarî chaupai* (V. S. 1605; also in Janârdana's *Ushâharaṇa* (V. S. 1548), V. 10, 1: also गवरी in "the song of Jasavanta Sonigaro" (V. S. 1670 or thereafter); extract given by Dr. Tessitori in his article under notice, p. 83; देसाउर in *Kânhaḍade-Prabandha* (V. S. 1512), IV, 12; also in *Vimala-prabandha*, 1, 69; and in *Vaitâla-panchavisi* (poem, V. S. 1619), p. 3, st. 24, also p. 62, st. 646. Dr. Tessitori cites (Notes § 57 (3)) *âûkhuṁ*, (आऊखुं) as occurring in Avachûri to *Daśavaikâlikasûtra*, VIII, 34. The shortening of the ऊ as a next step is not unusual.

Further, ज्यहां, त्यहां, क्यहां from जिहां, तिहां, किहां; ज्यम, त्यम, क्यम from जिम, तिम, किम; and similar instances (गोव्यंदो for गोविंदो and म्यली for मिली)[5] point to a still wider field of operation of the anti-*samprasâraṇa* process ; and it also manifests itself in the final इ preceded by consonants, as in

आंख्य	from	अक्खि	—	अक्षि
गांठ्य	from	गंठी	—	ग्रन्थिः
वात्य	from	वट्टी	—	वर्तिः
गोरय	from	गउरी	—	गौरी
जात्य	from	जाती	—	जातिः

and the like.

The list of words given above will show that the change of अइ to अय is not confined to वयर, वयरागी and पयसार, but extends over a larger, though necessarily limited, field. All I intended was to indicate the tendency, and leave other cases of wide è and ò to be explained by that process, whether actual change to अय in their case wasf ound or not in writing, by a reasonable inference of its operation.[6]

To take (*b*) in the first objection first :—

I do not think वयर and वयरागी can be found in any Prâkṛit grammar or work. These always recognize अइ and अउ. अय and अव (as evolutes of अइ and अउ) having come into use at a very late stage even in O. W. Râjasthânî. One would rather say that वइर and वइरागी are *tatsamas* and वयर and वयरागी are *tadbhavas*. Again, to say that अय (and अव) may in these cases be a corruption of Sanskrit ऐ (and औ) is hardly supported by Prâkṛit grammar. Hemachandra notes the change of ऐ to ए, इ and अइ (as also that of औ to ओ, उ and अउ), but he nowhere speaks of अय (and अव) as evolutes of ऐ (and औ), nor are they found in Prâkṛit works, so far as I know. True, Dr. Tessitori has simply advanced a conjecture ; but such a conjecture has hardly any basis, either in the grammatical or literary works in Prâkṛit ; nor are there any grounds for going behind Hemachandra and reading into his *sûtras* any such phonetic tendency, as may fairly be permitted by critical canons.

Now, as regards (*a*),— it is essential to know specifically the conditions under which O. W. Râjasthânî manuscripts write य for इ (and, as Dr. Tessitori states further on, व for उ) : Is it in the case of initial, medial or final इ or उ ? Is it when they are accented or unaccented ? or, is this substitution of य (and व) for इ (and उ) dependent, like the spelling with a *w* or a *v* in Sam Weller's name, on the taste and inclination of the writer ? Again, are those

[5] I find गोव्यंदो in a poem of Padmanâbha copied in V. S. 1715 (see *Gujarâta-Śâlâ-Patra*, XII, May, article by Mr. Chhaganlal V. Râvaḷa) ; and गोव्यंद in *Vaitâla-panchavisî* (poem), p. 178 ; म्यली in Bhâlaṇa's *Kâdambarî*, pûrvabhâga, p. 81, l. 16 ; p. 83, l. 13 ; and p. 102, l. 20.

This substitution of य for इ is not to be mistaken as a vagary of the scribes. Even now in Gujarât ladies of the old generation amongst Vaḍanagarâ Nâgaras and residents of Karnâli in Baroda State have this tendency to substitute य for इ in pronouncing words of this kind, *e. g.*, त्यल for तिल, म्यरी for मिरी (मरी); and the like.

[6] The genesis of प्रतिसंप्रसारण (anti-*samprasâraṇa*) may be this : when the इ-उ find themselves in a subordinate position they seek, as it were, some support for self-preservation, and an adventitious अ steps in to furnish such support, resulting in the usual *sandhi* process इ+अ=य and उ+अ=व. Pâṇini's rule, इको यणचि operates here ; this rule is practically the opposite of इग्यणः संप्रसारणम्; the change of यण् to इक् being called संप्रसारण (*samprasâraṇa*), that of इक् to यण् may well be termed प्रतिसंप्रसारण (prati-samprasâraṇa) or anti-samprasâraṇa.

vowels and semi-vowels interchangeable in writing like इ and य and उ and व ? In the absence of this detailed information, I shall assume that this tendency of writing य, व for इ, उ must have been noticed in occasional[7] cases which Dr. Tessitori has not been able to reduce to any rule ; and I shall proceed to point out instances where I discover some method in the madness of the scribe. Thus, I find इ written almost invariably in Bhâlaṇa's *Kâdambarî*[8] (about V. S. 1550), while य is written only in rare cases for इ, and where य is intended to be sounded, and not इ.

जाय Page 1, line 12. Here the word rhymes with उपाय and this at once shows that य is intended and not इ.

Whereas जाइ at Page 1, line 14. Here इ is lengthened in reading and therefore cannot be changed into य.

थाय Page 83, line 3. Where it rhymes with काय, and therefore intends a य sound.

जाय Page 83, line 5.

डेलाय Ditto.

जाइ Page 77, line 5.

विइ Page 85, line 2, also line 23 }
हिइ Ditto line 5 } Here even वाये and हिये are written with an इ.

जाय Page 164, line 14, where it rhymes with काय.

थाय Page 165, line 8, rhyming with काय.

थाइ Ditto line 14.

थाइ Ditto line 20 " स्त्रीनूं चपलपणूं थाइ तिहां " where इ is short and yet it is not even altered to य ; here was a suitable occasion for the play of the scribe's tendency to write य for इ.

जणाइ Page 165, line 21. Here इ is lengthened.

(The year of copy of the manuscript is V. S. 1672.)

I take up *Gautama Râsa* (V. S. 1412) and find the following :—

निभ्रइं, st. 5 ; गउरि, st. 5 ; पंचसय, st. 6 ; बइठउ, st. 7 ; पयहउ (? पयठउ), st. 9 ; चउसठि st. 11 ; तउ, st. 14, 18, 20, etc. ; कउसीसो, st. 17 ; वयर st. 17 ; वयराशि, st. 35 ; उवझाइ, st. 43 ; कवण st. 44 .

(The work concludes thus :—

चउदह सय बारोतर वरिसिहि
खंभनयरि सिरिपासपसाहि (? इ)
गोयमगणहर केवल दिवसिहिं
कियउं कविउ उपगार परो).

Mâdhavânala Kathâ (V. S. 1574, copied V. S. 1693) shows :—

कोइल (not कोयल), v. 190, ह इ उ इ (not ह य उ इ), v. 203.

Ushâharaṇa by Janârdana (V. S. 1548) shows :—

गायसिइ (for गाइसिइ).

बइठो; पइसइ; कवण–कुण; पनउती; थाइ;

ह इ उ इ; जाय (for जाइ).

Vimalaprabandha (V. S. 1568) has :—

भइरव; p. 37, st. 24 ; वयर, p. 147, st. 25 ; वेडर (Hindi वैयर), p. 146, st. 23 सइ (for सय), p. 90, st. 10, 11; तय (for तउ), p. 200, st. 86.

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[7] I use this word because Dr. Tessitori speaks of a tendency only.

[8] Mr. K. H. Dhruva's edition.

Glancing through the selected specimens from O. W. Râjasthânî texts given as an Appendix to Dr. Tessitori's Notes on the Grammar of the O. W. Râjasthânî (pp. 100-106), I find इ and उ written throughout as इ and उ and not as य and व; *e.g.*, चउथउ (at three places), तउ, माडला, आऊखा, तडहइ, जाइसु, जाइसि, पइसी, बइठउ, पइसतूँ; all this in contrast to वयरी (at *five* places at p. 103, and at one place at p. 105),—only in one place we see वइराणु (p. 104), जायइ (p. 100), जायइ (p. 103), रोयइ (p. 104), where evidently the य represents itself and not इ. (The य in कांयइ at p. 101, line 7, is of a different kind; it stands for ज in कीजइ, passive form, Prâkṛit किज्जइ, Sanskṛit क्रियते; and is therefore not to be counted in this connection.)

This much about the O. W. Râjasthânî MSS. As regards old Mâravâḍi, the specimen given by Dr. Tessitori from the "Song of Jasavanta Sonigaro" has रामाइण where रामायण would have surely been expected.

I need not multiply instances.[9] But the above instances will be enough to show that, instead of possessing a tendency to write य-व for इ-उ, the works disclose a well-established practice of writing इ and उ, and only in particular cases and conditions did they write य and व for इ and उ: these conditions being nothing but the fact of actual phonetic change into य and व. The very fact that only in certain words such as वयर, वयरागं and the like the य is emphasized would show that the anti-*samprasâraṇa* process had already commenced in their case, and if बइठउ is seen side by side with बयठउ, पइठउ, it is only because the process was in a stage of beginning and not quite settled down; for changes in a language cannot proceed on regular lines of uniform march; some forms will linger, some progress, go backwards and forwards, till a final settled state is reached. Whatever may be the case, the isolated instances of य cannot be set down as the result of a tendency to write य for इ in the face of so many instances of words with इ written in them. In his "Notes," § 4, (5) Dr. Tessitori refers to the writing of य for इ, in a particular MS. (F. 722), and infers that it is a mere writing peculiarity of the MS. The instances contain क्यम, त्यम and the like. These are exactly the representatives of the pronunciation in Gujarâtî at present (alternatively with केम, तेम, etc.). If so, why could it not have been the case of actual change then?

[9] Vaitâla panchavisi (V. S. 1629) gives a luxuriant crop of इ, and rarely, very rarely, य (as only in cases like पयठा (p. 136), बयठु (p. 100), वयराग (p. 104), बयेठउ (p. 104), बयठउ (p. 88): which are all explained above). It has also बइठउ (p. 174) and बइठी (p. 173), which fact is also explained above. Only in two cases we find abnormal य: जायस for जाइसि (p. 132) and जायेछइ for जाइछइ (p. 111). These two isolated instances in the midst of an extremely large number of instances of इ cannot prove a tendency to write य for इ. We have to remember that we are to detect a general current out of a bewildering variety of manifestations resulting partly from (*a*) the habit of scribes tampering with genuine forms, and partly from (*b*) the fact that words assume different changes even during the same period. An instance of the former condition is seen in Bhâlaṇa's *Kâdambari* where, instead of the expected अइ (which is written only in rare exceptions) we find the करिछि and करि type almost invariably. We need not wonder at it when we remember that the oldest copy belongs to the last quarter of the 17th century of the Vikrama era, wherein this type was prominent and extensively used, although it began earlier. Take only one instance:—

केशवाली चित्रवर्णी दीसिछि प्रमाण

(P. 56, l. 16.)

Here दीसिछि gives a great metrical deficiency, whereas दीसइछइ would fill the metrical measure properly.

सोभइ at p. 6, l. 19, is a rare exception, but it betrays the scribe who evidently forgot to turn it into सोभि.

(2) Dr. Tessitori's second reason is—

That O. W. Râjasthânî changes अव to अउ invariably and it is not admissible that having begun its existence with such a change, it should retrace its steps and go back from अउ to अव again.

My answer is as under :—

Considering the comparatively limited number of cases of *samprasâraṇa*, is it safe, I would ask, to state that O. W. Râjasthânî reduces *every* अव of the *Apabhraṁśa* to अउ? Assuming, however, that this process is a strong feature of the Old Western Râjasthânî, does it necessarily follow that the अउ cannot revert to अव? Such reversion is not unknown in linguistic development. For instance, the double *ṇ* (ण्ण) of *Apabhraṁśa* derived from the न (न्न) in Sanskrit, goes back to न in O. W. Râjasthâni and its offspring languages, as in छन्नकं (Sans.), छण्णउ (Apabhr.), छानउ (O. W. Râj.), छानुं (Guj.) and words of that type. Similarly an initial single *ṇ* of Apabhraṁśa, derived from the dental *n* in Sanskrit, goes back to the dental in O. W. Râj. and derived languages ; *e.g.*, नापि (Sanskr.), णवि (Apabhr.), नवि (O. W. Râj.), नव (Guj).[10] Take the very case of अव ; Sanskrit कः पुनः, Prâkṛit कोउण-कउण came to be crystallized into कवण in *Apabhraṁśa*. (This is the real progress, although Hemachandra has found it convenient for the purposes of his plan to call कवण a ready-made *âdeśa* of किम्. See *Siddha-Hemachandra*, VIII. iv. 367). This कवण has reverted to कउण (by *samprasâraṇa*) in O. W. Râjasthâni, as Dr. Tessitori points out. (See also *Mugdhâvabodha Auktika*—V. S. 1450—which has कउण in nine different places at p. 3, 4, 5, 7, against four of कुण at p. 2, 7, 8) This has again passed through a reflux, and we find कवण in *Vimala-prabandha* (V. S. 1568), p. 9, st. 25, also in *Vaitâla-panchavisi*—Poem (V. S. 1619), p. 39, side by side with कोण or कुण also. If this be regarded as a retention of the *Apabhraṁśa tatsama* (कवण) in the 16th and 17th century literature, the same cannot be said of the कवण found frequently in still later literature and in popular *duhâs* as in—

कवण खटकावे कमाड मर्दा छे राणकदेवनी.

The correct explanation must be found in a process of reversion which, in this case, exhibits the anti-*samprasâraṇa* process.

If more instances of reversion and प्रतिसंप्रसारण combined were wanted, I would cite देसाउर (derived from देसावर-देश + अपर) reverting to देशावर in Gujarâtî (the स is changed to श by the proximity of ए and is not to be mistaken as a sign of *tatsama* for the प *is* absent where we have व); and देउल (from देउल which really is the result of *samprasâraṇa* of the व in देवल from देवुल, a potential contraction of देवकुल) reverting to देवळ (Guj.) ; and देउर (from Sanskrit देवर)—see *Vimala-prabandha*, p. 146, st. 23—reverting to देवर in Hindi. Of course, the व in

[10] I have taken both these types from Dr. Tessitori's "Notes", § 41 and § 23. I have taken the छण्णउं type with certain reservation ; for, so far as I can ascertain, the double न्न of Sanskrit is not seen to change into the cerebral ण्ण either in Prakrit or Apabhraṁśa ; Hemachandra does not show it. But Sanskrit double न्न appears as ण्ण (cerebral) in later Prâkṛit, *e. g.*, पसण्ण (from प्रसन्न), *Prâkṛita Paingala* (Calc. Edition), p. 355, l. 3, p. 380, l. 4 ; पण्णग (Sans. पन्नग), p. 35, l. 4 ; also अण्ण अन्य), धण्ण (धन्य), and the like may be constructive instances in point, न्य first turning into न्न. Only in one case I find Hemachandra giving ण्ण for a constructed ग्न : उव्विण्णो (from उद्विग्नः)—see *Si-He*, VIII, ii. 79.

However, स्तनः-थणो, थणु-थान (Guj.), and वनचरकं-वणयरउं-वनेरुं (Guj.), तनयः-तणओ-तन (Guj.), मनः-मणं-मन (Guj.), भगिनी-बहिणी-बहेन, (Guj.), स्थानं-थाणु-थान (said specially of a horse's place in the stable), यौवनं-जोव्वणं (णु)-जोबन (Guj.), would be good instances of reversion.

these three instances is preceded by आ or ए and not by अ; none the less they instance reversion and *prati-samprasâraṇa* together.[11] The fact is that, as in the case of other changes,[12] this change of अउ back to अव[13] is found side by side with a different process undergone by the same double vowel. Thus, while कउण gave कवण on the one hand, it also gave कु on the other; गवक्ख gave गवख (the parent of गोख) on the one hand, while it gave गऊख (the parent of गुख) on the other, and so forth. How or why this double operation came into play will be explained further on below.

(3) To come to Dr. Tessitori's third and last ground. It is this:—

(*a*) ऐ and औ, derived from अइ and अउ, are found in all the earliest manuscripts of both Gujarâtî and Mâravâḍî;

(*b*) When अइ-अउ began to be written as ऍ-ऑ, it was because they were pronounced as diphthongs, and only afterwards they were reduced to long wide vowels (*i.e.*, अॅ and ऑ):

(*c*) If अइ-अउ had really passed into अय-अव, manuscripts would have written them as अय-अव instead of writing them, as they do, as ऍ-ऑ, especially as they show a tendency to write य-व for इ-उ.

I should like to make my position clear before taking up each of these three sub-heads. But it will be convenient to touch one point under (*a*) just now, *viz.*, the state of things in earliest Gujarâtî Manuscripts. So far as I have been able to ascertain, ऍ-ऑ, as evolutes of अइ-अउ, are not seen in Gujarâtî Manuscripts of any period. Dr. Tessitori puts the rise of Gujarâtî as a separate offshoot of O. W. Râjasthânî somewhere about the beginning of the seventeenth century of the Christian era[14] (*i.e.* from V. S. 1656 downward). Manu-

[11] It may be contended that after all दैवल is from देउल direct, and वैर a Sanskrit *tatsama*. But a careful consideration of the probabilities based on the place of these words in the language as words of such frequent currency as can only be acquired by *tadbhava* formations, will go against such contention. Besides, देउल is only a potential step.

[12] In some cases the co-existence of *apparently* different stages of formation can be accounted for; *e. g.*,

अहोतरसु बुद्धडी रावण तणइ कपालि ।
एकुबुद्धि न सांपडी लंका भंजण कालि ॥

(*Munja Râsâ*, quoted from in Sâstri Vrajalal's *Gujarâtî Bhâshâno Itihâsa*, p. 44.) Here the अइ in तणइ is due to a final क termination, while the इ in कपालि and कालि is the result of the absence of that termination. Similarly लमतणइ स्थानकि in *Bhuvanadîpa bhâshântara* (*Gujarât-Sâtâ-Patra*, March, 1910, p. 112.)

This would be good in the case of nouns and adjectives. In the case of verbs the अइ and इ cannot be so explained, and must be regarded as forms different in nature.

[13] I must note that anti-*samprasâraṇa* (or प्रतिसंप्रसारण) does not mean that the इ-उ which undergo that process have in all cases been derived by *samprasâraṇa*. They may have been evolved differently as well: *e.g.*,

मलिनकं	-	मइलउं		(मयलउं मयलउं)—मॅल;
खदिर	-	खइर		(खयर)—खॅर;
वैरं	--	वइरं(रु)		वयर (वयर)—वॅर.
मुकुलं	--	मउलं (लु)-	-	(मवर) मोर;
गौरी	-	गउरी	--	गवरी (गवरी)—गॉरय;
चतुष्क	---	चउक्क	---	चवक्क (चवक)—चॉक;

et cetera. All that is meant is a process which is the opposite of *samprasâraṇa*. (In fact, where अय is affected by *samprasâraṇa*, there is no prati-*samprasâraṇa*, the अइ remains in hiatus or contracts into a narrow -ए, or forms the diphthong ऐ; *e. g.*, सैकुं or सइकुं, चांपानेर, अवेव (from अवयव).

[14] *Vide* Dr. Tessitori's "Notes", p. 5 of the Introduction.

scripts subsequent to this date (V. S. 1656) showing ऍ ऑ for अइ–अउ in Gujarâtî will really come as a surprise to many. I may be wrong and my research is, no doubt, limited in extent in this respect. I should really be glad, therefore, to see such instances in Gujarâtî manuscripts. May it be that Dr. Tessitori has come across such cases in Gujarâtî manuscripts written by scribes who were under Mâravâḍî influence ? Again, Dr. Tessitori himself regards the contraction of अइ–अउ into ऍ–ऑ as one of the characteristics marking the existence of Gujarâtî as independent from the O. W. Râjasthânî, and puts it at the head of the list.[15] If so, is it likely that any early Gujarâtî manuscript will show ऍ–ऑ as the evolutes of अइ–अउ ? However, we need not wander into the realm of conjecture as to probabilities, when it may be possible for Dr. Tessitori to show concrete instances. Till then I must regard ऍ–ऑ as evolutes of अइ–अउ to be foreign to Gujarâtî in any of its stages development.

To come to the clearing up of my position now :– I do not mean to suggest that अय–अव (as developments of अइ–अउ) were actually written, except in rare cases like वयर, वयरउ and the like ; all I contend is that they were potential developments as precedent conditions requisite for the production of the wide sound (अॅ–अॉ) when a comes on the final अ being lost through want of accent, thus giving अय्–अव् as the causative principle of the broad sound.[16] Dr. Tessitori will not be averse to accepting this *principle* of potential development, for he has to take his अव through a potential अउ stage, though not found in actual writing (See p. 77 of his article on " Bardic Survey " the article under notice.) There are several such potential intermediate changes, which I class under सक्रमणोत्सर्गं (*i.e.*, transitional *utsargas*, or rules marking operations during transitional steps) I may cite only one instance : As a reverse process to the change of ऋ to अ (*Siddha Hem*, VIII. ii. 57), I find a change of अ to ऋ, only as a possible middle step in the formation of भवनढुं (Guj.) from आभनवकं (Sanskrit), through अहिनवउं–अऋनवउ

Thus, this change of अइ–अउ to अय–अव (then अय्–अव्) is only a possible phonetic process as a transitional step, and when instances in actual writing like, वयर, वयरगी, etc., do happen to come up, I take them as clear indications of the tendency in support of my theory. Even if there were no such actual instances in support, I should still adhere to the anti-*samprasâraṇa* theory, as I find in it a potential principle supplying a clear working hypothesis

(*To be continued*.)

NOTES AND QUERIES.

NOTES FROM OLD FACTORY RECORDS.

9. Goods not up to sample.

30 *August* 1689. *Letter from Elihu Yale and Council at Fort St. George to John Nicks and Council at Conomire.* The Long Cloth you last sent us proves so very Cource, ill washt, and packt, that tis unfitt to be sent home. To Satisfy you therein we have sent for your review and Perusall Six bales by Sloop [*lacuna*] and expect your Merchants will make a proportionable abatement thereon, or we must returne the rest upon them, Our mony being much better then Such trash, and we doe much blame the dimoited [*sic* ? a form of doited = senseless] or Corrupt Sorters and receivers thereof. Certainly they had noe Reguard to their [Musters] or Masters and tho you and your Merchants may plead the troubles and impediments of the Countery and Scarcity of goods which may serve for an excuse for their delays; yett it can be no excuse for the badness of the goods ; nothing can necessitate that, for if they reach not muster [Sample], reject them, for 'tis much better to take nothing then that which is good for nothing. Pray, if you Vallue your reputations or employs, be guilty of no such faults for the future, and Remedy this as well as you can. *Records of Fort St. George. Letters from Fort St. George*, 1689, p. 41.

R. C. T.

[15] *Vide* Dr. Tessitori's " Notes ", p. 5. of the Introduction.

[16] *Vide* my Note on Gujarâtî Pronunciation, *ante*, Vol. XLIV, p. 18, footnote 2, and the portion to which it is a note